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## QUEEN EURYDICE AND THE EVIDENCE FOR WOMAN POWER IN EARLY MACEDONIA.

In the kingdoms established by the Successors in Egypt and in Syria women appear as co-rulers with their husbands and as regents during the minority of a son or the exile of a husband.<sup>1</sup> This woman-power is sometimes regarded as a Macedonian tradition, perhaps going back to some northern form of inheritance in the female line. Droysen<sup>2</sup> tried to prove the custom for Epirus, starting from the statement of Satyrus that Philip gained the kingdom of the Molossi by marrying Olympias. "Es muss also eine Art weiblicher Succession für Epeiros in Uebung gewesen sein" he maintains. The evidence for such a custom in Locris has lately been considered afresh by Oldfather.<sup>3</sup> Whatever may have been the case in other northern tribes, Macedonia appears to have been strictly patriarchal, and though women doubtless had the influence among the Macedonians that Aristotle<sup>4</sup> says is common to warlike peoples, they would not "endure to have a woman for their king." This remark was made by Alexander<sup>5</sup> in Asia when he was informed that in his absence his mother Olympias and his sister Cleopatra had combined

<sup>1</sup> Cf. among many others Berenice, wife of Ptolemy Euergetes, who appears to have reigned in Cyrene before her marriage (Tarn, *Antigonos*, 452 f.), and Cleopatra, mother of Antiochus Grypus, who murdered her son, Seleucus Fifth, and took the power into her own hands, afterward associating Grypus with her.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte des Hellenismus* I, 95, note 2. Also Berlin. Akad. 1877, 28. Cf. Kaerst P.-W. 5, 2727, *Epeiros*.

<sup>3</sup> P.-W. 13, 1225 ff., *Lokris, Das Mutterrecht*.

<sup>4</sup> *Politics*, 2, 9, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Alex.*, 68.

against Antipater and had divided the power, Olympias taking Epirus and her daughter Macedonia. Alexander said that his mother had chosen the better part—*Μακεδόνας γὰρ οὐκ ἀντομεῖναι βασιλευομένους ἢπερ γυναικός*. Alexander uses here the unambiguous and technical word *βασιλευομένους*, whereas Aristotle in the second book of the *Politics* when speaking of woman-power in warlike and military races uses the general word *γυναικοκρατούμενοι* and makes it clear that he is speaking of the *influence* of women over men who hold authority rather than of women who govern directly. He attributes the love of wealth and luxury in certain states to the fact that they are under the power (or influence) of women, *τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἢπερ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀρχεσθαι*, and says that this gynaeocracy is the rule with military and warlike states with the exception of the Celts, who are given to paederasty. In his discussion of warlike tribes in *Politics*, 1324 b 9-15, he mentions the Macedonians, and, no doubt, has that people in mind in the passage in the second book. He was a contemporary of Philip the Second, whose mother Eurydice is the first woman mentioned in the history of Macedonia to whom political influence is attributed. His father, Nicomachus, was court physician for Amyntas the Third, the husband of Eurydice, and Aristotle himself, as tutor of Alexander the Great, may have come into contact with Alexander's mother Olympias of Epirus, who was indeed one of the "tigress princesses"<sup>6</sup> of the House of Macedonia.

The question with both these women, Eurydice and Olympias, is how far their influence in politics was the result of their character and personality, and how far it was the tradition of woman-power in old Macedonia. It is the purpose of this paper to consider what is known of the daughters and wives of the early kings of Macedonia before Philip II, and to discover, if possible, whether in that kingdom there was already the principle of woman-power as we see it in the Seleucid and Egyptian kingdoms.

In this connection I quote a passage from Bevan's *House of Seleucus* (2, 279 f.): "It was in the character and action of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic queens that the Macedonian blood and

<sup>6</sup> Bevan, *House of Seleucus II*, 60, ". . . those tigress princesses whom the old Macedonian blood continued to produce."

tradition showed itself. Both dynasties exhibit a series of strong-willed, masculine, unscrupulous women of the same type as those who fought and intrigued for power in the old Macedonian kingdom. The last Cleopatra of Egypt is the best known to us, but she is only the type of her class. There was no relegation of queens and princesses to the obscurity of a harem. They mingled in the political game as openly as the men. It was in the political sphere rather than that of sensual indulgence that their passions lay and their crimes found a motive. Sometimes they went at the head of armies. We have seen one of them drive, spear in hand, through the streets of Antioch to do vengeance on her enemies. It is only in the intensity and recklessness with which they pursue their ends that we see any trace of womanhood left in them.”

There can be no doubt that the Macedonian women like those of Sparta were of the “masculine” type, but this intensity and recklessness of which Dr. Bevan writes is the very point in which they are completely at one with the men of their race. Demosthenes<sup>7</sup> has a Greek name for the quality in those glowing though unwilling tributes which he pays the great Philip: *φιλοπραγμοσύνη* he calls it, and says of it *ἡ χρῆται καὶ συζῆ Φίλιππος*—“it is the familiar spirit and consort of Philip’s life” is hardly an over-translation. Philopragmosyne, intense love of life in action, restless and reckless activity, drives Philip on from Illyria to Chalcidice, from Thessaly to Thrace, running over countries like a pestilence, or a forest fire or a hail-storm, sacrificing any part of his body that fate asked of him, his eye, his collar-bone, his hand, his leg, if so he might live with glory and honor.<sup>8</sup> Here is the quality of *μεγαλοψυχία*, as Demos-

<sup>7</sup> Dem. 1, 14 καὶ τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ἡ χρῆται καὶ συζῆ Φίλιππος ὑφ’ ἡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀγαπήσας τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡσυχίαν σχήσει. Dem. 4, 42 δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις, ὁ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς γεγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυνόμενος, τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταῦτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ.

A late Macedonian poet, Addaeus, has an epigram (Anth. Pal. 7, 604) to the hero Philopragmon, who helps men achieve their goal.

ἢν παρίγε θρω, Φιλοπρήγμων δὲ καλεῖται,  
πρόσθε Ποριδαλας κείμενον ἐν τριβδῷ,  
εἰπεῖν ολον ἐπ’ ἔργον ἀγεις πέδα, εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνος  
εὐρήσει σὺν σοι πρήξιος εὐκολίην.

<sup>8</sup> Dem. 18, 67.

thenes himself calls it, which found the most eloquent man in the world, though an enemy, to describe it.

But there is no evidence in what we know of Macedonian queens to prove that before Eurydice, the wife of Amyntas the Third, they mingled in affairs of politics. Such as are mentioned before Eurydice are merely pawns in the game. Their names are in two or three cases given. The occasion is always the same—the king gives his sister or his daughter in marriage, together with a large sum of money, to buy some advantage from the prince to whom the lady is given. The first woman so mentioned is Gygaea<sup>9</sup> who was given with a large dowry by her brother, Alexander the Philhellene, to a Persian nobleman Bubares who had come to Macedonia as head of a commission of investigation into the death of the Persian envoys who had been assassinated by the stratagem of Alexander. The latter is said by Herodotus to have quashed the proceedings by his diplomacy (*σοφίη*) in giving Bubares the princess and the money. Gygaea is mentioned again by Herodotus as mother of a son Amyntas, named for his maternal grandfather, and given by the Great King an important town of Phrygia, Alabanda, to govern. Stratonic<sup>10</sup> is the next woman of the royal house whose name occurs. Her brother Perdiccas, son of Alexander, makes use of her in the same manner in which his father had employed Gygaea, to get himself out of a military difficulty. In 429 he bought the retreat of Seuthes the Thracian from the borders of Macedonia for the price of Stratonic as his wife and a sum of money. In the reign of Archelaus, son of Perdiccas, that monarch when pressed by a war against Sirrhas and Arrhabaeus<sup>11</sup> gave his two daughters in marriage, the elder to a king of Eleimeia whose name is not given (it was formerly believed to be Sirrhas), and the younger either to his own son by a previous marriage or, according to an emendation accepted by several scholars, to Amyntas, son of Arrhidaeus. The names of the two daughters of Archelaus are not given, but the younger one, given, according to the emended reading,<sup>12</sup> to Amyntas, son of Arrhidaeus, was perhaps also named Gygaea. That name occurs (in a corrupted form) in Justin 7, 4, where Justin says that Amyntas had by

<sup>9</sup> Hdt. V, 21, and VIII, 136.

<sup>11</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, 1311, b8.

<sup>10</sup> Thuc. II, 101, 6.

<sup>12</sup> Hoffmann, *Makedonen*, p. 160.

Gygaea three sons, Archelaus, Arrhidaeus and Menelaus. Beloch<sup>13</sup> thinks that Gygaea, wife of Amyntas, was descended from Menelaus, brother of Perdiccas, because of the name of her youngest son. The names of the two eldest are striking. The name Archelaus would hardly have been given except to honor king Archelaus, and if Amyntas married a daughter of that king, almost inevitably the oldest child would have that name. The second son is named for the father of Amyntas himself.

The names of the first princesses who meet us in the history of Macedonia are interesting. Gygaea is brought by Hoffmann<sup>14</sup> into connection with the epithet of Athena in Lyco-phron 1152:—

*πονὰς Γυγαίᾳ τίσετ' Ἀγρίσκα θεῖ.*

The other epithet of Athena in this line has an ending which Petersen<sup>15</sup> has shown is common as a geographical ending in Macedonia and Thrace; for example, Myrtiske, Doriskos, Gariskos, Ergiske, Bromiskos. The definition of *Γυγά* by Hesychius as *Αθηνᾶ ἐγχώριος* suggests that in Gygaea we have an instance of a royal name derived from the epithet of a deity.

Stratonice is the first female name recorded in the Macedonian royal house of a warlike type of name that was peculiarly dear to the Macedonians, such as Berenice, Eunicus, Nicaea, Nicos-tratus. The wife of Antigonus Monophthalmos was Stratonice, daughter of Corraeus, and the name was continued in that family in her granddaughter and great-granddaughter Stratonice I and II of the Seleucid house.

Concubinage doubtless existed in old Macedonia. As Droysen<sup>16a</sup> says, we see in old Macedonia the epic time in an unpoetical form, and the Macedonian monarch was in his family relations as patriarchal as Priam, king of Troy, who had married at least two princesses besides Hecuba and had many concubines. The question of polygamy among the early Macedonians cannot be settled for lack of evidence. It is well established when we come to Philip the Second<sup>16</sup> with his many wives married for political

<sup>13</sup> Beloch, Griech. Geschichte, III, 2<sup>2</sup>, 66 f.

<sup>14</sup> Op. cit., 217 f.

<sup>15</sup> Petersen, W., Greek Diminutive Suffix -ΙΣΚΟ- -ΙΣΚΗ-, pp. 191 f.

<sup>15a</sup> Op. cit. I, 2, 70. Cf. Beloch III<sup>2</sup>, 1, 469.

<sup>16</sup> Athen. XII, 557B, δὲ Φίλιππος δεὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐγάμει κ. τ. λ. and Satyrus, ib. (= FHG III, 161).

reasons. We are told that Perdiccas the Second,<sup>17</sup> who reigned from about 440 to 413 B. C., had a mistress who was a slave in the household of his brother Alcetas. She was the mother of his son Archelaus, the monarch who is said by Thucydides<sup>18</sup> to have done more for Macedonia in road building, fortifying the country, and in military organization than the eight kings before him taken together. Archelaus was certainly recognized by his father, as his name Archelas, (son) of Perdiccas, appears among the list of ambassadors in the Athenian decree of an alliance with Perdiccas of the year 422.<sup>19</sup> The name of Perdiccas heads the list, and the names of his brothers Alcetas and Menelaus, those of his nephews Satyrus and Agerrhus as well as those of Arrhabaeus of Lyncestis and Derdas and Antiochus, vassal kings of Eleimeia and Orestis respectively, are among the notable names appended to the decree. In the well-known passage in the *Gorgias*, Polus says that Archelaus was the son of a slave woman in the household of Alcetas and that by right he was the slave of his uncle Alcetas. It seems out of accord with this that his name is on so important a document as the treaty with Athens, followed by his father's name in the genitive. That his mother was, if not a slave, at least undistinguished, seems to be proved by the fact that Archelaus was not the immediate successor of his father, but was appointed guardian of the little son whom a lady named Cleopatra bore to Perdiccas. It would be interesting to know the family and descent of this lady, the first of the Macedonian queens to have the name which belonged afterward to so many famous queens of Macedonian blood. Perdiccas married her apparently in his later life, perhaps for the purpose of having an heir of unquestioned legitimacy. Plato says that Archelaus killed his uncle Alcetas and Alexander, son of Alcetas, as well as the little heir of Perdiccas. Apparently he married Cleopatra, the queen-widow. Plato tells of his deceiving her about the manner of her little son's death. In the passage in Aristotle's *Politics* in which the marriages which Archelaus made for his two daughters are

<sup>17</sup> Plato, *Gorgias*, 471a.

<sup>18</sup> Thuc. 2, 100 ff.

<sup>19</sup> I. G. I<sup>2</sup>, 71. For the latest discussion of this decree see P. H. Davis, *Two Attic Decrees of the Fifth Century*, *AJA*, XXX, 2, 1926, 179 f.

mentioned, a son by Cleopatra is spoken of in such a way that the unemended version must refer to a son of Archelaus by a Cleopatra. One may wonder why Plato did not mention as an additional horror that Archelaus did not scruple to marry the mother of the child whom he had murdered. It looks as though Cleopatra the wife of Perdiccas was the mother of the little son of Archelaus, also murdered in early childhood by *his* guardian, thus repeating the fate which his little uncle had met at the hands of Archelaus. This child of Cleopatra had the name Orestes. According to the unemended version of the passage in the *Politics* (1311b) Archelaus gives his younger daughter, perhaps the daughter of Cleopatra,<sup>20</sup> to his own son Amyntas, in the hope that he and the son by Cleopatra would, by this arrangement, be less likely to quarrel. If this Amyntas is Amyntas ὁ μικρός<sup>21</sup> who ruled shortly before Amyntas III, Archelaus and both his sons met violent deaths at the hands of murderers, Archelaus murdered by Krateuas, Orestes by Aeropus or, as he called himself, Archelaus Second, and Amyntas the Small by Derdas.

The marriage of Cleopatra, widow of king Perdiccas, with her stepson Archelaus, if a fact, is a testimony to the wealth and prestige of the queen-widow. It may have been passion for Cleopatra, but it was much more probably ambition that incited Archelaus to marry her during the minority of the heir. We find later Cleopatras in Egypt, the wife of Ptolemy Epiphanes, and his daughter the wife of Philometor and of Euergetes, left in charge of the infant heir and governing as regents. There is no trace of such woman-power at this period in Macedonia.

Eurydice, daughter of Sirrhas, granddaughter of Arrhabaeus of Lyncestis,<sup>22</sup> and wife of Amyntas the Third of Macedonia, is the first Macedonian queen who is recorded to have taken any political action. After the death of her husband and her eldest son, Alexander the Second—during the regency of Ptolemaeus, her son-in-law, to whom she was perhaps married—she summoned Iphicrates,<sup>23</sup> the Athenian general, to come to her and made to him, in the presence of witnesses, a moving plea for

<sup>20</sup> So Beloch, III<sup>2</sup>, 2, 64. Cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 160 f.

<sup>21</sup> Aristotle, *Pol.* 1311b.

<sup>22</sup> Strabo VII, 326.

<sup>23</sup> Aeschines II, 28 ff.

her children, Perdiccas and Philip, who were "brothers" of Iphicrates, since he had been adopted as a son by their father. She asked the Athenian to take action against the pretender, Pausanias, who was attempting to get the throne, which Ptolemaeus, the regent, had according to Plutarch<sup>24</sup> taken solemn oath to preserve for the two younger sons, though he had murdered the eldest. Eurydice may have summoned Iphicrates at the instigation of the regent Ptolemaeus, who was perhaps her husband. The incident shows Eurydice in the narration of Aeschines as a brave and eloquent woman who has her children's future at heart. But it does not indicate that any real political power belonged to her.

She is said by Justin<sup>25</sup> to have plotted against her husband's life because of her love for her son-in-law and to have helped him kill her eldest son Alexander and to have contrived the death of her second son, king Perdiccas, in vengeance for the death of Ptolemaeus. According to the account of Justin she was a woman of one idea, namely, love for Ptolemaeus, for whose sake she was willing to ruin all her family and continued her work of devastation even after the death of her lover. Justin says that Alexander, eldest son of Amyntas and Eurydice, and successor in the kingdom, was killed "insidiis Eurydices matris appetitus." Amyntas, he goes on to say, had forgiven her because of their children, not knowing that she would be deadly to those for whose sake he had condoned her adultery and that she would plot against his life. There is something inexplicable here. The Macedonians were a monarchical people, though the descent in the royal family was unsteady and the chance of an infant heir coming to the throne practically hopeless, as the guardian usually had the child murdered and seized the throne himself. However, the guardian was regularly a member of the royal family,<sup>26</sup> such as Archelaus, who murdered his little brother, son of Perdiccas, and Aeropus, Archelaus Second, who was probably a brother or nephew of king Perdiccas. It is against all Macedonian precedent for a queen to plot to hand

<sup>24</sup> Plut. *Pelopidas*, 27.

<sup>25</sup> VII, 4-5.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Beloch III<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 65. Aeropus muss eben als Vormund, ein Mitglied des königlichen Hauses gewesen sein und zwar der nächste am Throne.

the kingdom over to someone outside the royal family. But Ptolemaeus was made *ἐπίτροπος* or guardian of the kingdom after the death of Amyntas.<sup>27</sup> It looks as though he had some other connection with the royal family besides that of the queen-widow's son-in-law and lover. If Diodorus<sup>28</sup> is correct in calling him a son of Amyntas and a brother of Alexander whom he murdered he may have been a bastard son of Amyntas, as Archelaus the First was a bastard son of Perdiccas. It is difficult to believe that his marriage with the daughter of Amyntas and his adulterous connection with the queen-mother alone could have given him the position of ruler of Macedonia as *ἐπίτροπος* of Perdiccas and Philip after he had murdered the king Alexander. He is said to have married Eurydice and to have been killed by Perdiccas.<sup>29</sup>

The matter deserves attention in considering woman-power in early Macedonia. If Ptolemaeus of Alorus was raised to power through his connection with the queen mother, we have some evidence of the influence and power of women in Macedonian politics. But in our lack of information about Ptolemaeus and his claims, it is not possible to decide the question of the power of Eurydice.

Eurydice is said by Plutarch<sup>30</sup> to have been an Illyrian and thrice barbarian. That she was Illyrian is also stated by Libanius and by Suidas. Her mother was a daughter of the king of the Lyncestians, Arrhabaeus, and her father was the mysterious Sirras, who is variously regarded as king of Eleimiotis (Droysen), son of Arrhabaeus of Lyncestis (Newman), an Illyrian (Hoffmann), and king of Orestis (Beloch). The opinion of Newman was based on the old false translation of Strabo VIII, 326—"and Sirra (or Irrha) was his daughter." The meaning of course is "and daughter of Sirras" (or Irrhas), referring to Eurydice. Beloch says that Eurydice could not have been Illyrian because the Macedonian kings took only "Nebenfrauen," not the chief queen, from the Illyrians.<sup>31</sup> The

<sup>27</sup> Plut. Pelopidas, 26; Aeschines, loc. cit., *ἀλλότριος τοῦ γένους*.

<sup>28</sup> Diodorus, 16, 71, 1; cf. Syncellus—*ἀλλότριος τοῦ γένους*.

<sup>29</sup> Schol. Aeschines II, 29; Justin, loc. cit.

<sup>30</sup> De Educat. Puer. 20, 14.

<sup>31</sup> Beloch III<sup>2</sup>, 2, 79.

question is not settled, and the evidence is conflicting. If she was Illyrian she may have brought in a strain of greater daring and wilder blood, as the Illyrian queens fought and hunted like the men. In the account given by Aeschines Eurydice appears as a loving mother and a reference of hers to Amyntas hardly accords with the statement by Justin that she helped to murder him. Indeed the whole speech of Aeschines to Philip recalling his childhood and his mother's brave appeal to Iphicrates seems incredible if that same mother was known to have killed Philip's father and his two elder brothers and to have plotted against him. Aeschines says that he reminded Philip of the ancient goodwill and good services on the part of Athens to Amyntas, the father of Philip, and then of the kindnesses of which Philip himself had been a witness. "Amyntas," says Aeschines, "had recently come to the end of his life. So had Alexander, the eldest of the brothers. Eurydice, their mother, had been betrayed by those who appeared to be their friends. Pausanias was returning from exile to seize the throne which belonged to them, an exile indeed, but one who had strength which came from the circumstances. Many were on his side. He had a Greek force and control of Anthemus, Therme, Strepsa, and various other places. The Macedonians were not of one mind and mostly favored Pausanias. The Athenians had elected Iphicrates general to go to Amphipolis and he came with a few ships rather to see how things were than to besiege Amphipolis." "Then," said Aeschines to Philip, "Eurydice, your mother, summoned Iphicrates and, as all who were then present relate, put Perdiccas, your brother, in the arms of Iphicrates and set you, a little boy, upon his knee and said—'Amyntas, the father of these children, when he was alive, made you his son and treated Athens as his friend; so you are now personally a brother of these boys and politically a friend to us.' And after this," Aeschines continues, "she made a strong plea for you and for herself and for the throne and for their preservation. On hearing this Iphicrates drove Pausanias out of Macedonia and saved the dynasty for you (*ὑμῖν*). And after this I spoke about Ptolemaeus, who was (had been?) established as the regent (*ἐπίτροπος καθεστηκὼς τῶν πραγμάτων*), saying what an ungrateful and bad part he had played (in the matter of Amphipolis etc.)."

There is no indication here of a marriage between Eurydice

and Ptolemaeus. Plutarch says that Pelopidas was summoned in the trouble between Ptolemaeus and Alexander, who was king of Macedon, as reconciler, adjudicator and helper of the one who should prove to be in the right. And soon after, Ptolemaeus killed the king and got the government. His opponents called for help upon Pelopidas, who marched against Ptolemaeus with hired troops who went over to Ptolemaeus when he offered them money. But he recognized the prestige and power of Pelopidas and in fear of the future came to him and gave him a pledge that he would keep the kingdom for the brothers of the dead king and would be an ally of Thebes. He gave his own son Philoxenus as a hostage with fifty of the *hetairoi*. The passage in Aeschines gives us authentic information about Eurydice, although the orator, doubtless, made diplomatic omissions and leaped over perilous deeps in his account to the Athenians of what he said to Philip, to whose sentiment he appeals with his “Eurydice ἡ μῆτηρ ἡ σῆ” and “Perdiccas τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν σόν.” If that mother was the murderer who plotted against the life of the husband to whose memory she appeals in her speech, and if she had helped to murder the son whose death is referred to by Aeschines as soon following that of his father, the Athenian orator must have had strong nerves and Philip must have exercised extraordinary self-control as he listened to the “pathetic” story of the mother-love of the “Lyncestian murderer.” Eurydice may have married Ptolemaeus just as the queen-mother Cleopatra married the *ἐπίτροπος* Archelaus who murdered her little son. She was probably near the age of Ptolemaeus, as Amyntas had married her when he was in middle life, and Ptolemaeus may have hoped to have a son by her to establish his dynasty. He had a son Philoxenus already, according to Plutarch, whom he gave to Pelopidas as a hostage.<sup>32</sup>

An epigram preserved by Plutarch in his essay on Educating a Boy gives a pleasant bit of information about Eurydice, who sends a gift of some kind to the Muses (their worship had been established by king Archelaus),<sup>33</sup> because she has learned to read and write when she is the mother of grown sons.

<sup>32</sup> Plut., Pelopidas, loc. cit.

<sup>33</sup> Plut. de educat. puer. 20, 14. The true reading in the first line was restored by W. R. Paton. See Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 54, 1919, 71.

Εὐρυδίκη “Ιρρα πολιήτισι τόνδ’ ἀνέθηκε

Plutarch speaks of Eurydice as an exemplary mother who late in life took to study and self-improvement for the sake of her children's education. He then quotes the dedication to the Muses as an apt expression of her maternal love.

There are these two early testimonies to her humanity to set against the statement of the Scholiast on Aeschines II, 29, and the account of Justin, who is notoriously given to diatribes against sinners in exalted places, and is not suspected of over-exactitude in his choice of authorities. It may very well be that Eurydice was not a "mala bestia,"<sup>34</sup> but an unfortunate and gifted woman whose marriage with her son's murderer, if she did marry him, could be explained on dynastic grounds. It is curious that Ptolemaeus could divorce a person of such rank as the princess Eurynoe, who apparently had borne him a son.

In the actions of Eurydice there is no trace of independent power on her part. Ptolemaeus was regent, for whatever reason, from the time of Amyntas' death, and her summoning Iphicrates may, as I have said, have been at his suggestion. According to Justin the death of Perdiccas was brought about by his mother—not even the "*parvulus filius*" of Perdiccas having power to move her heart from its murderous design. The power which she possessed as a natural gift, whether resulting from an indomitable will, or the charm of beauty, or both, should not be confused with the question of political power. There is no evidence in what is related of her that she had any real authority in the government. As queen-widow she must have had estates and prestige that would make her a desirable match for the Regent, as in the case of Cleopatra, queen-widow of Perdiccas.

After Eurydice, we come to the wives and daughters of Philip. The wives, with the exception of Olympias and the last one, Cleopatra, were war-brides whom Satyrus<sup>35</sup> says Philip married when he was at war, for diplomatic reasons, desiring to gain the

*Μούσαις εὐκτὸν ἐῆ ψυχὴ ἐλοῦσα πόθον·  
γράμματα γάρ, μνημεῖα λόγων, μήτηρ γεγανᾶ  
παιδῶν ἡβάντων ἐξεπενησε μαθεῖν.*

Eurydice, daughter of Irrhas, offers this gift to the Muses  
For the dear wish of her heart, granted by them to her prayer;  
After the sons whom she bore had come to the threshold of manhood  
Painfully did she achieve learning to read and to write.

<sup>34</sup> Taylor, cf. Dobson, *Oratores Attici* XII, 25.

<sup>35</sup> See above, note 16.

friendship of their fathers or brothers. With both Olympias and Cleopatra he made a love-match. Olympias was the only one who had influence on affairs of state, and that after her husband's death. With Olympias and her daughter Cleopatra, her step-daughter Cynane, and her step-granddaughter Adea or Eurydice, the era of super-women "*μείζονες ἢ κατὰ γυναικά*," of whom the third century is full, begins. These women fight with their enemies on the battle-field—Cynane is said to have killed an Illyrian queen in battle—they command garrisons, and defy the captains and kings of the earth. They all show what Diodorus<sup>36</sup> says of one of them, Cratesipolis, the daughter-in-law of Polyperchon and wife of Alexander of Sicyon, "a political understanding and a courage beyond that of women." But it does not come from any early tendency in the monarchy of Macedonia to exalt woman-power or as a remnant of matriarchy. In the early history, as we have seen, the women were important only in cementing an alliance between a male relative and some enemy whom he wished to conciliate, or friend of whose alliance and friendship he wished to make sure. That there was *γυναικοκρατία* of the kind of which Aristotle speaks as prevalent in warlike races there can hardly be a doubt. Alexander said that his mother's tears outweighed all complaints against her.

The great prestige attached to Macedonian women of the ruling house is notable in the case of Cleopatra, sister of Alexander. Diodorus writes thus of her—"She was the sister of Alexander, who conquered the Persians, daughter of Philip, son of Amyntas, widow of Alexander, the invader of Italy, and on account of her splendid lineage Cassander and Lysimachus and Antigonus and Ptolemy, in a word, all the Successors of Alexander, were her suitors. Each of them, hoping that Macedon would come to him along with the bride, sought alliance with the royal house in the expectation that he would thus gain the entire sovereignty." Yet fought for by all the rulers of the world, though she was courageous as a man and a true daughter of both Olympias and Philip in her daring and her ambition, she was kept in practical internment by Antigonus at Sardis for many

<sup>36</sup> Diodorus, 19, 67—*ἵν δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ σύνεσις πραγματικὴ καὶ τόλμα μείζων ἢ κατὰ γυναικά*.

years and killed at his instigation when she attempted to sail to Egypt to marry Ptolemy, who had already put away from him Eurydice and married Berenice. Since Cleopatra was nearly fifty at this time, the desire of the Successors to marry her shows how precious in their eyes was the royal blood of Philip of Macedon. Cleopatra had been regent in Epirus during the infancy of her son Neoptolemus, before she went to Macedonia to dispute the power with Antipater during Alexander's absence.

In Egypt and Syria Cleopatras and Berenices and Laodices were destined to be rulers with, or without, their husbands. In Macedonia, as Alexander said, the people would not endure to have a woman for a king.

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## FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN ANCIENT ATHENS

I do not know that there ever was a community in which a man might say whatever he pleased. Even those who at various times have pleaded for great freedom of utterance, have always hastened to add qualifications. Milton and Jeremy Taylor would, it seems, allow almost any book to be printed and read,—except, of course, books defending the doctrines of “Papists.”<sup>1</sup> Milton adds the class of wicked books generally—“that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against faith or manners no law can possibly permit that intends not to unlaw itself.” Locke would go further but still within well-defined limits.<sup>2</sup> Curbing the speech of the governed is one of the first measures of a government when it is ever so slightly alarmed, and except in ancient Athens no one has ventured to suggest that it is not a legitimate exercise of power.

Athenians, indeed, boasted that in this respect they were a unique people. They had freedom of speech. They took their reputation for *παρρησία* as seriously as Englishmen have taken their reputation for personal and domestic inviolability. It is the mark that distinguishes the free from the slave, says Jocaste in the Phoenician Women (v. 392),

*δούλον τόδ' εἴπας μὴ λέγειν ἢ τις φρονεῖ,*<sup>3</sup>

as it is the last resort of self-respecting poverty:

*ἀρ' οἰσθ' ὅτι τῆς πενίας ὅπλον  
ἢ παρρησία; ταύτην ἔαν τις ἀπολέσῃ  
τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀποβέβληκεν οὐτος τοῦ βίου.*<sup>4</sup>

But when the young sophist Polus,—that Hellenic counterpart of Elihu the son of Barachel, the Buzite,—burst into a conversation between his betters—he demanded the right to say as

<sup>1</sup> Milton, *Areopagitica*, p. 54 (Hales); Jeremy Taylor, *Liberty of Prophesying*, c. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Locke, *On Toleration*, First Letter.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Euripides, *Hippolytus*, vss. 421-422. *Ion*, vss. 671 seq. Plato, *Rep.* 557 B.

<sup>4</sup> Nicostatus, in Kock, *Com. Att.* Fr. ii, 227. Stobaeus, *App. Flor.*, 21, 24 (p. 29 Gaisf.) s. v. *Νικοστράτου*.

much as he pleased, not whatever he pleased: *τί δαί; οὐκ ἔξεσται μοι λέγειν ὅποσ' ἀν βούλωμαι*; and the answer of Socrates is significant for our present purpose: "Strange it were, my good fellow, if having come to Athens, where there is the greatest liberty of speech in all Greece, you alone should be denied that here."<sup>5</sup> Athens, though preëminently a place where tongues wagged freely, was only that comparatively, more than any other Greek city. A little later than the date of the *Gorgias*, but not much later, Isocrates, in the *Peace*,<sup>6</sup> complains that he will not be allowed that freedom of speech which those whom he calls the *ἀφρονέστατοι* used with impunity. It is hard to see what he or Plato could say in disparagement of Athenian political institutions which they did not say, but it was evidently a party commonplace to suggest that the vaunted Athenian *παρρήσια* had limits, when the Athenians themselves were attacked. Yet the petulance of these aristocratic gentlemen is obviously a pose. They are themselves witnesses of the extent to which a free people will endure vituperation of their manners and persons, and of the fact that in general Greek opinion Athenians indulged themselves in a freedom of speech which other communities noted with surprise, and, let us hope, with envy.

We are apt to think of freedom of speech as evidenced in the utterance of unpopular opinions, but the Athenian seemed to have desired it as much for the privilege of speaking ill of his neighbors. Zaleucus would have none of that for his Locrians, if we can put any confidence in later traditions: *μηδεὶς δὲ λεγέτω κακῶς μήτε κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν μήτε ιδίᾳ τὸν πολίτην ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν νόμων φύλακες ἐπιμελείσθωσαν τῶν πλημμελούντων πρῶτον μὲν νουθετοῦντες, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πείθωνται ζημιοῦντες.*<sup>7</sup> In the sober city of the *Laws*, Plato had a short way with saucy citizens, *εἰς δὴ περὶ κακηγορίας ἔστω νόμος περὶ πάντας ὅδε· μηδένα κακηγορείτω μηδεὶς.*<sup>8</sup> It is not likely that he would have attempted seriously to enforce such a law in a Mediterranean community. Athens, to Plato's deep dissatisfaction, regulated the matter in a far different way.

Isocrates wished to say unpalatable things to the Athenian

<sup>5</sup> Plato, *Gorgias*, 461 E.

<sup>6</sup> Isoc. *Pax*, 14, 161 D. *δημοκρατίας οὐσης οὐκ ἔστι παρρήσια πλὴν ἐνθάδε μὲν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις ἐν δὲ τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς κωμῳδοδιδασκάλοις.*

<sup>7</sup> Stobaeus, *Serm. xliv*, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Plato, *Laws* 934 E (xi, 12).

demos. He pretends to hesitate and he declares that if he were a κωμῳδοδιάσκαλος, he might say them with impunity. If there was *παρρησία* anywhere in Athens, it existed on the comic stage. There neither position nor reputation saved a man from bitter and violent abuse, and Athenians heard with patience not only attacks upon their polity but the mockery of their most cherished beliefs.

Was this license one merely of custom or had it ever been granted by law, or by a specific exception in the general libel law? Manuals of history and of literature have repeated an ancient tradition that the matter had been expressly regulated by law. We find the tradition in Cicero (Rep. iv, 10) *apud quos (Graecos) fuit etiam lege concessum ut quod vellet comoedia de quo vellet nominatim diceret.* It is implied in the *ius nocendi* of Horace<sup>9</sup> and is reasserted by Themistius, *τῆς τέχνης αὐτῷ [Εὐπόλιδι] διδούσης τοῦ σκώπτειν τὴν ἀδειαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων.*<sup>10</sup>

This tradition is closely connected with another one about the characteristics of the epochs of Attic comedy. Three such epochs were once distinguished, the Old, the Middle and the New. The Old Comedy was characterized by unrestrained license. Individuals were attacked by name, introduced as persons in the drama and denounced and ridiculed in unmistakable terms. The Middle Comedy no longer used names or open scoffing but referred to known personages by veiled allusions, *αἰνιγματῶς καὶ οὐ φανερῶς.* Then in the New Comedy there was no reference to actual persons at all, but merely the delineation of generalized types.<sup>11</sup> This neat and clear-cut scheme, however, does not seem to be older than the time of Hadrian.<sup>12</sup> Aristotle, Horace and Quintilian know only of *παλαιοί* and *καινοί* in comedy.<sup>13</sup> Most modern writers who

<sup>9</sup> Horace, Ars Poet. 283.

<sup>10</sup> Orat. viii, p. 110 B.

<sup>11</sup> Dionysius Thrax, Schol. p. 15, Kaibel. Cf. also Andronicus, Bekker, An. Gr. 749, 3.

<sup>12</sup> This was first established by W. Fielitz, in a dissertation *De Atticorum comoedia bipartita*, written in 1866. It was accepted by Kock, Com. Frag. ii, pp. 11-12, and has found general favor since.

<sup>13</sup> Aristotle, Eth. Nic. iv, 8, 1128 A, 22; Horace, Sat. i, 4 (cf. Kiessling's note, ad loc.). Quintilian, Inst. Orat., x, 1, 65. Cf. also Dionys.

retain the triple division, keep it only as a convenient classification.<sup>14</sup> It has little value and a great many historians of literature have completely abandoned it.<sup>15</sup>

But whether it was at the end of the fifth or of the fourth century, at some time the Old Comedy gave way to the New. And the transition was, it was assumed, not a gradual one. A definite law was passed which forbade the use of names, the law *μὴ ὄνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν*.<sup>16</sup>

Was there such a law? It is a matter about which a great deal has been written and the final result is as well stated by Sittl as by anybody else, when he says that the tradition of its existence is vague and dubious.<sup>17</sup> It may, however, not be unprofitable to inquire how this vague and dubious tradition arose.

Suppression of license in speech is generally a weapon of an oligarchy or a monarchy against a turbulent populace. Platonius speaks of such a suppression at Athens, and the statement is accepted by Meineke and in one form or another appears in our manuals.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the complaints of Isocrates and Pseudo-Xenophon<sup>19</sup> and the incident of Naevius at Rome seemed to confirm it. But the facts as we know them completely contradict this supposition. It is the leaders of the democracy who are most bitterly abused by the comic poets, and the domination of the oligarchs at Athens was so brief that they could hardly

Hal. Rhet. 8, 11, and Velleius, Hist. Rom. 1, 16, who knows only of the *prisca* and the *nova comoedia*.

<sup>14</sup> Wright, Short History of Greek Literature, p. 305. But Pottier in the Daremberg-Saglio Dict. des Ant. s. v. *comoedia*, i, 1414a speaks freely of Middle Comedy as a separate genre, as does Butcher, Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, p. 370.

<sup>15</sup> Croiset, Hist. de la Litt. Gr. (2d ed.) iii, 592. T. Denis, La Com. Grecque, ii, 332.

<sup>16</sup> The phrase occurs in a scholium to Aristophanes, Ach. vs. 67. The old discussion in Clinton Fasti Hell. pr. lvi, and Meineke Frag. Com. Gr. i, pp. 39-43, is still valuable. Most of the modern material is collected in Starkie's edition of the *Acharnians* (1909), Exc. p. 243.

<sup>17</sup> Sittl, iii, 419.

<sup>18</sup> Platonius, de Com., p. xxxiv, Lips. quoted in Meineke, p. 42, and Denis, La Com. Gr. ii, 344.

<sup>19</sup> De Rep. Ath. ii, 18. Dio Chrysostom makes the very opposite statement, Or. xxxii, 6 (ed. Arnim, p. 268) and adds quite correctly *καὶ ταῦτα ἡκονοὶ ἔορτάζοντες καὶ δημοκρατούμενοι*.

have worked a change in one of the most characteristic of Attic institutions.

If we attempt to rid ourselves of the tradition and examine the extant plays of Aristophanes and the fragments of other comic writers, whether of the older or the later comedy, it must be apparent that whatever the difference between their spirit or their art, it does not lie in the use or the omission of political allusions. As long as there was a political life at Athens, attacks on public men are frequent and violent. Nothing is so completely incorrect as the statement we find in an anonymous writer on comedy, who says of the new comedy, *εἴτα δὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκώλυσαν καὶ εἰς ξένους μὲν καὶ πτωχοὺς ἔσκωπτον εἰς δὲ πλουσίους καὶ ἐνδόξους οὐκέτι.*<sup>20</sup> So far from abusing only "foreigners, slaves and beggars," the comic poets ably maintained the Aristophanic practice of hitting any head that showed itself. Few and scanty as the fragments are of the enormous body of later comedy, there is scarcely a great name of later history that is not represented among the figures satirized. Timocles assailed Demosthenes, Cephisodorus and Hyperides; Archedicus attacked Demochares; Diphilus, Ctesippus.<sup>21</sup> Inclination or disinclination to abuse was a personal characteristic of certain poets. Athenaeus says of Menander that he was *γκιστα λοιδόρος*, in a passage that clearly implies that this could not be asserted of Menander's contemporaries.<sup>22</sup> Menander's popularity may have made his individual practice seem the mark of his group, but that is the best that can be said for this rhetorical differentiation of comic types.

Accordingly, from our sources, we should never infer that at any time in Athens there had been a law that forbade the use of names on the comic stage. If Aristophanes and Cratinus possessed a *ius nocendi*, so did Philemon and Diphilus. Yet those who spoke of the famous law, *μὴ ὄνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν*, did not invent it. We may now turn to such specific authority for it as has come down to us.

<sup>20</sup> *Anonymous de Com.*, p. xxxvii, Meineke *Fr. Com. Gr. i*, 544. Legrand, *Daos*, pp. 27 seq., gives a long list of instances in which poets of the later comedy made satirical attacks on living persons.

<sup>21</sup> Meineke, *Fr. Com. Gr. i*, pp. 271 seq. Kock, *Com. Att. Fr. ii*, 452, 552.

<sup>22</sup> *Athenaeus*, 549, c.

At vs. 67 of the Acharnians, the scholiast has the following note: *οὗτος ὁ ἄρχων [Εὐθυμένης] ἐφ' οὐ κατελύθη τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ μὴ κωμῳδεῖν γραφὲν ἐπὶ Μορυχίδου καὶ ἵσχυσεν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ δύο τὸν ἔξῆς ἐπὶ Γλαυκίνου τε καὶ Θεοδώρου μεθ' οὓς ἐπὶ Εὐθυμένους κατελύθη.* Morychides was archon in 440 B. C. The scholiast does not say that the use of names was forbidden. He cannot mean that comedy was forbidden altogether for we have lists of victorious comedies that include the years 440-437,<sup>23</sup> and he does explicitly state that the psephisma, whatever it was that it decreed, was in force only three years.

The reference is precise and detailed. It cannot be got from anything Aristophanes says and is not an attempt to explain any allusion he makes. It sounds very much like authentic history and is generally taken as such. Most historians have noted the fact that the period involved is the period of the Samian revolt, at which time it may well have been found necessary to restrict the use of political subjects on the stage. Nor is it strange that a scholiast should have been so well informed. Many of the Aristophanic scholia come from Didymus, who wrote at the time of Augustus and who knew and used the *ψηφισμάτων συναγωγή* of Craterus.<sup>24</sup>

We can be sure of only one thing about its tenor. It cannot have been the law *μὴ ὄνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν*, since it comes not at the end of the Old Comedy, but almost at its beginning.

Another scholium on the Acharnians mentions one Antimachus who—necessarily before 427 B. C.—passed a law or several laws concerning comedy.<sup>25</sup> A scholium to the Birds, vs. 1297, attributes a law on this subject to one Syracosius, before 414 B. C. We shall have occasion to recur to the latter scholium, but for the present we may note of the two a circumstance that was not true of the reference to Morychides. The names Antimachus and Syracosius, upon whom the laws are fathered, occur in the text, and the supposed “laws” may be merely attempts to

<sup>23</sup> Boeckh, C. I. G. i, 229.

<sup>24</sup> For the relation of the Aristophanic scholia to Didymus cf. Starkie's edition of the Wasps, p. lxii, and especially Meiners, Quaest. Aristoph., pp. 18 seq. (Diss. phil. Hal. xi, pp. 217 seq.).

<sup>25</sup> ἔδόκει δὲ ὁ Ἀντίμαχος οὗτος ψήφισμα πεποιηκέναι μὴ δεῖν κωμῳδεῖν ἐξ δύναματος. Cf. also Diogenianus, vii, 71, Greg. Cyp. iii, 41.

explain allusions in the text. A late rhetorician may not improperly be suspected of inventing laws for such a purpose. It must, however, be perfectly clear that even the law of Syracosius cannot be the law in question. We have many plays and fragments of plays of this very time, and they are full of references to persons by name and full of abuse of these persons. If there is any vituperative epithet that Aristophanes omits to apply to the men he dislikes, I am sure it is by inadvertence. We should have to assume,—if the law of Syracosius forbade the use of names—either that it was immediately repealed, or that it was a dead letter from the beginning. Of the former supposition, there is no evidence at all. And as for the latter, it is scarcely a tenable hypothesis to assume that an angry and resentful demos would pass a law and permit an avowed anti-democrat to flout them openly.

But there was a law forbidding the use of names—at any rate a vituperative use of names—not merely on the stage, but anywhere. It was an old law,—as old as Solon. We find mention made of it in Plutarch (Solon, xxi): *ἐπαινεῖται δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ ὁ κωλύων νόμος τὸν τεθνηκότα κακῶς ἀγορεύειν. . . . ζῶντα δὲ κακῶς λέγειν ἐκώλυσε πρὸς ἵεροῖς καὶ δικαστηρίοις καὶ ἀρχεῖοις καὶ θεωρίας οὐστῆς ἀγώνων.*<sup>26</sup> This law was surely in force in the time of Aristophanes and there is no record that it ever was amended, or that it contained any exception in favor of comedy.

It can scarcely be said that Aristophanes felt himself much restrained by the existence of this law. On several occasions he lampoons the dead, and on all occasions, the living, which, since the Lenaea were eminently a public festival, an *ἀγών*, seems to come directly within the prohibition of the statute. That fact, however, is not difficult to account for. Solon's law did not give reparation to the injured party, but imposed the fine of a fixed sum, five drachmae. Five drachmae in 575 B.C. were no insignificant sum. In a sacrificial tariff ascribed to about this time, the value of a sheep or of a medimnus of grain was one drachma, and that of an ox was five drachmae.<sup>27</sup> But in 410

<sup>26</sup> The law is mentioned by Demosthenes, in Boeotum (or. xl), 48, 1023, and in Lept. (or. xx), 104, 488.

<sup>27</sup> The question of changes in the purchasing power of money is fully discussed by Boeckh, *Staatshaushalt. d. Ath. i*, p. 444 seq. and with more

B. C., an average ox was worth seventy-seven drachmae, and a good one, four hundred.<sup>28</sup> A little later, according to another sacrificial tariff, a medimnus of barley was worth four drachmae, a sheep, eleven or twelve, and an ox, ninety.<sup>29</sup> It is easy to understand why Chaerephon, Cleon, Cleonimus, Hyperbolus, would not take the trouble to prosecute a scoffer who could purge himself at once for an insignificant sum of money. And even of this small sum, only three drachmae went to the prosecutor. That would make actions even less alluring to sycophants.

This Solonic law gives a point, I think, to a passage in the *Wasps* (vss. 1205-1207). The arch-sycophant Philocleon, begged for an anecdote of his skill, cries boastingly:

ἔγῳδα τοίνυν τό γε νεανικώτατον·  
ὅτε τὸν δρομέα Φάῦλλον, ὃν βούπαις ἔτι,  
εἷλον διώκων λοιδορίας ψήφοιν δυοῖν.

Since Phayllus was a runner, we may plausibly conjecture that the abuse was offered at the occasion of an *agon*. The bite of the jest would therefore be not merely the pun on *εἷλον* meaning both "I overtook him in a race" and "I beat him in a lawsuit," but also the fact that Philocleon uses an ancient law, almost obsolete at the time, for the sake of gaining three paltry drachmae, and just barely wins his action.

There was almost an exact analogy in the history of Roman law. The XII Tables fixed the damages to be assessed against a man for publicly beating a free citizen at twenty-five *asses*. At that time this sum would buy two and a half sheep. But money depreciated until twenty-five *asses* amounted only to two and a

recent and fuller data by Beloch, *Griechische Gesch.* i, 298 seq., iii, 313 seq. Solon's tariff is given by Plutarch, *Solon*, xxiii. According to the *Lex. Cantab.*, p. 671, 7, the penalty was at a later time raised to 500 dr., and the oration of Hyperides against Dorotheus is quoted in support of that (fr. 117). However, the increase seems to have been made only for slanders directed against the dead, and there is no evidence that it was also effective for the other provision of the Solonic law. It may also be the case that the slander of the dead which was punishable by the higher penalty, was a slander that consisted in using one of the *ἀπόρρητα*, as Lipsius, *op. cit.* ii, 651, suggests in another connection.

<sup>28</sup> C. I. A. i, 188, ii, 8, 4, 163. Prott and Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, i, 26, pp. 46 seq.

<sup>29</sup> Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii, pp. 339-340.

half denarii. The law was turned into an absurdity by the escapade of a young Mohock named L. Veratius, who walked through the forum, striking inoffensive burghers in the face, and ordering the accompanying slave to pay to each one of them the legal penalty of a handful of coppers.<sup>30</sup> In Athens we know of no such incident. But apparently the law fell into desuetude, unless the passage in the *Wasps* is an instance of a prosecution under it.

There was another and much more important libel law at Athens. Certain words were by law declared to be *ἀπόρρητα*, "unsayable."<sup>31</sup> As in the older statute, the penalty was fixed in the law, but it was five hundred drachmae, not five. Of these unsayable things, we know several. One might not say that a man had thrown away his shield in battle, that he had slain any one, or that he had beaten his father or his mother. We do not know precisely when this law was passed, but it must have been in force some time before 384 B. C., the date of the oration of Lysias against Theomnestus, who is being prosecuted under this law. How long before 384 B. C. was the law in force?

There was in Athens a stout politician named Cleonymus. Of him Aristophanes says that he was a coward,<sup>32</sup> a glutton,<sup>33</sup> a perjurer,<sup>34</sup> a catamite,<sup>35</sup> a flatterer,<sup>36</sup> an informer,<sup>37</sup> a swindler,<sup>38</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Aulus Gellius, N. A. xx, i, 13.

<sup>31</sup> The *locus classicus* may be said to be the entire Lysianic speech against Theomnestus. The subject is fully discussed by Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, ii, pp. 648 seq.; Hitzig, *Inuria*, pp. 22 seq.; Szanto, *Die Verbalinjurie im att. Prozess*, Wiener Studien, xiii (1891), pp. 159 seq. (reprinted Ges. Abh. 103 seq.). There is a briefer discussion in Platner, *Proz. und Klagen bei den Ath.* ii, 188; Thonissen, *Le droit pén.*, p. 281. Perhaps the fullest examination of all the relevant passages is to be found in G. Glotz' article, *kakēgorias dike*, in Dar. Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.* iii, pp. 788 seq. Glotz is the only one who considers the law *μὴ δυομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν* in this category in which it doubtless belongs.

<sup>32</sup> Nubes, 353. Eq. 958.

<sup>33</sup> Aves, 289.

<sup>34</sup> Nubes, 400.

<sup>35</sup> Nubes, 680. This seems to me the more likely inference from the use of the feminine *κλεωνύμη*. It is frequently taken as an allusion to his cowardice, as by Green in his note ad loc. We may compare Cicero's reference to Antony as Antonia. I think a similar jibe lurks in Aristophanes' last mention of Cleonymus, Thesm. 605.

<sup>36</sup> Vespaes, 592.

<sup>37</sup> Aves, 1473.

<sup>38</sup> Acharnenses, 88.

and at least five times, he calls him a "shield-thrower," *πίψαστρις* or its equivalent.<sup>39</sup> About the other accusations, we cannot certainly say whether they were in the list of *ἀπόρρητα* or not. They do not appear in the known list, but it is not established that this list was exhaustive.<sup>40</sup> But the last charge, on which Aristophanes dwells with especial insistence, we know was on the list,—indeed it was one of the most famous ones in it. Shall we assume that Aristophanes took his chances of being prosecuted? It does not seem likely. To be sure, it was beneath the dignity of a gentleman to bring such an action, and to do so was an especial mark of litigiousness.<sup>41</sup> But Athenian politicians were not always gentlemen and apparently were not afraid of being considered litigious. It is equally unlikely that the charge was demonstrably true. Cleonymus held public office a few years later, which he could not have done, had it been an established fact that he had thrown away his shield.<sup>42</sup>

We may tentatively draw another inference, that the law was passed during the period of Aristophanes' activity—it can scarcely be later than 390 B. C.—but before the plays in which this accusation appears.

Can we get somewhat closer than this? In an oration ascribed to Lysias against Theomnestus, delivered in 384 B. C., there is a discussion of certain laws in which archaic expressions are used, which had in ordinary speech been replaced by more modern ones. These laws are characterized as ancient.<sup>43</sup> The libel law is mentioned after them and particularly distinguished from them. It is therefore not one of the *παλαιοὶ νόμοι*. In discussing

<sup>39</sup> Pax, 678, 1297. Nubes, 353, Vespa, 19, 592.

<sup>40</sup> There has been much controversy on this question. Hitzig, op. cit., p. 27, holds that it is meant to be exhaustive, and cites Harpocration s. v. *ἀπόρρητον*. Lipsius, op. cit., ii, p. 649, takes the opposite view. But the reference in Aristotle, Eth. Nich. iv, 8, 9, 1128a, 30, seems to support Hitzig. Of course there were wholly independent enactments, such as the law forbidding abuse of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Hyperides, c. Phil. 3, 2. Cf. Caillemer, s. v. *atimia*, in the Dar. Saglio Dict. des Ant.

<sup>41</sup> Lysias, in Theom. 2.

<sup>42</sup> Andocides, De Myst. 27; Gilbert, Beiträge, p. 259. The point is overlooked by some editors, cf. Humphreys' edition of the Clouds, v. 352, note. The suggestion made by Szanto that the libel was punishable even if true, cannot be accepted, op. cit., pp. 159 seq.

<sup>43</sup> Lysias, op. cit., 15.

the law of the *ἀπόρρητα*, the speaker anticipates a defence that the accused had made use not of *ἀνδροφόνον*, the term used in the law, but of *πατέρα ἀπεκτονέαν*.<sup>44</sup> He asserts with vehemence that the exact word is immaterial provided the substance of the charge was actually uttered, and proves that an approximate synonym for a penalized expression is for legal purposes the same as the expression itself.

In connection with Cleonymus, Aristophanes could not have employed even the plea imputed to Theomnestus. He unqualifiedly says *ἀσπίδα ἀποβάλλειν* several times, and he brings the charge unmistakably in the Acharnians, the Knights, the Clouds, the Wasps and the Peace, all produced before 420 B. C. In the Birds, he makes two allusions to it, in a way to be discussed shortly. In the Thesmophoriazusae, produced 411 B. C., he again attacks Cleonymus, but for a wholly different thing.<sup>45</sup>

The Birds was produced in 414 B. C. and obtained the second prize. In the same year, Phrynicus won the third prize with his Monotropus. And in this play he says *ψῶρ' ἔχε Συρακόσιον· ἐπιφανῆς γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μέγα τύχοι: ἀφείλετο γὰρ κωμῳδεῖν οὐς ἐπεθύμουν.* "A murrain take Syracosius who will not let me scoff at whomever I like."<sup>46</sup> It was to this reference that the scholiast appended the note to the effect that Syracosius had forbidden the use of names in comedy. Evidently he did no such thing, since Phrynicus is using a name. His statement is quite sufficiently motivated if what Syracosius had done was to withdraw certain people or certain classes of people from his satire.

Now, 414 B. C. is just sufficiently before 384 to make a law passed at the former date seem at the latter to be well established but not ancient. It would fit very well into the references which Lysias makes about the libel law. If we assume that the law of Syracosius was the law of the *ἀπόρρητα*, let us see what the effect of it would have been on a person like Aristophanes.

Cleonymus is one of his favorite butts. Up till 420, he had

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>45</sup> Thesm. 605. Cf. Note 35.

<sup>46</sup> In White's edition of the scholia, a line seems to have fallen out in this passage. The passage is corrupt, but the sense intended is manifestly that which has been given above.

frequently and boldly accused him of military cowardice, of throwing away his shield. Suppose that a law is enacted forbidding the publication of such a charge, except, of course, if it were true. What do we find in the Birds, vss. 287-289?

EII. οὐτοσὶ κατωφαγᾶς.  
 II. ἔστι γὰρ κατωφαγᾶς τις ἄλλος ἢ Κλεώνυμος;  
 EY. τῶς ἀν οὐν Κλεώνυμός γ' ἀν οὐκ ἀπέβαλε — τὸν λόφον;

At the call of the hoopoo a bird with a tall crest comes out. "That's a glutton-bird," says the Hoopoo. "Is there a glutton save Cleonymus?" cries Mr. Plausible. "Can't be Cleonymus," interjects Hopeful. "Else he'd have thrown away—his crest." The audience expected the word "shield," and Aristophanes meant them to expect it. But he does not use it. Again, vss. 1473-1481, the Chorus sings: *ἔστι γὰρ δένδρον πεφυκὸς ἔκτοπόν τι καρδίας ἀπωτέρω, Κλεώνυμος, . . . τοῦτο τοῦ μὲν ἥρος ἀεὶ βλαστάνει καὶ συκοφαντεῖ, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος πάλιν τὰς ἀσπίδας φυλλορροεῖ.* "The Cleonymus-tree grows far away from Courage-town; in the spring it bears blackmail suits, and in the winter, sheds its shields." In other words, the satirist does what all naughty boys have done since the beginning of Time. Being forbidden to do a certain thing, he takes a malicious delight in stopping just short of doing it.

Would any court tolerate so obvious an evasion? In the first place we must remember that the law had just been passed and its interpretation was still uncertain. In Germany under a severe and rigorously enforced law against *Majestätsbeleidigung*, satirical journals vied with each other in getting as near to a caricature of the Kaiser as one could without obviously making one. Even in our courts slander by innuendo is difficult to establish and the attempt often fails. We can readily believe that a nation of mockers would be particularly indulgent towards innuendo. How far one might go is illustrated in the oration against Theomnestus, to which such frequent reference has been made.

Theomnestus is charged with having called the unnamed speaker a murderer, *ἀνδροφόνος*. In the preliminary hearing Theomnestus had denied this, and said he had merely said "So-and-so killed his father," and had not used the word of

the statute, *ἀνδροφόνος*, "murderer." Against this pettefogging the speaker inveighs violently. The law does not profess to exhaust all the synonyms of the acts it forbids. If one may not say *ἀσπίδα ἀποβάλλειν*, one may not say *ἀσπίδα ρίπτειν*. If one may not call another a *λωποδύτης*, a "clothes-filcher," one may not say of him, "He stole my tunic." The speaker is arguing, therefore, for a liberal interpretation.<sup>47</sup>

But it is evident that he too would require a specific assertion, even though it might be any assertion, and would not regard a covert hint or an indirect allusion as sufficient to come within the words of the statute. We may illustrate again from this same law and this same oration. The case against Theomnestus arose out of a charge of cowardice made against Theomnestus by one Lysitheus. The action failed, and Theomnestus at once brought suit against one of the witnesses, Theon, for libel and won.<sup>48</sup> What Theon had said was *ἀσπίδα ρίπτειν*. The statute used the term *ἀποβάλλειν*. There is, therefore, ample and recent warning that one could not escape conviction under the law of the *ἀπόρρητα*, by pleading the use of an expression that was merely verbally different from those in the list.

Yet in this very speech, the speaker goes as near as he dares in repeating this same dangerous charge against Theomnestus. He had been a witness for Lysitheus in the other action, and he says ἔγώ δὲ ἐώρακὼς μὲν ἐκεῖνο τοῦτον ποίησαντα δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε αὐτὸς δὲ σώσας τὴν ἀσπίδα. "I who saw him do what you all know he did."<sup>49</sup> And again, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀποβεβληκὼς τὰ ὅπλα δικάζομαι κακηγορίας τῷ σώσαντι; ἀλλ' οὐχ οὗτος δὲ λόγος ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεσκέδασται.<sup>50</sup> "Did I throw away my shield and he keep his? That is not the rumor which is spread about in the city." That is to say, the speaker is doing exactly what Aristophanes did. He sails as close to the wind as he can without sailing directly against it.

About the practice of other comic writers our evidence is of the scantiest. Yet, as we have seen, it is not so scanty that we do not know the readiness with which they abused their personal and political adversaries. Menander, of whom we know most,

<sup>47</sup> Lysias, op. cit., 6-14.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 23.

was ἡκιστα λοίδορος. But others had less hesitation. When Eubulus speaks of Callistratus he has the following to say:

ἔστι λαλῶν ἄγλωσσος, ὁμώνυμος ἄρρενι θῆλυς,  
οἰκείων ἀέμων ταμίας, δασύς, ἄλλοτε λεῖος,  
ἀξύνετα ἔννέτοισι λέγων, νόμον ἐκ νόμου ἔλκων.  
Ἐν δ' ἔστιν καὶ πολλά, καὶ ἀν τρώσῃ τις ἄτρωτος.  
τί ἔστι τοῦτο; Β. τί ἀπορεῖς; Καλλίστρατος.<sup>51</sup>

That surely sounds Aristophanic. And Timocles' reference to Demosthenes has the same ring.

καὶ πρῶτα μέν σοι παύσεται Δημοσθένης  
δργιζόμενος· ὁ ποῖος; ὁ ποῖος; ὁ Βριάρεως  
ὁ τοὺς καταπέλτας τὰς τε λόγχας ἔσθίων.<sup>52</sup>

About the nephew of Demosthenes, Demochares, the poet Archedicus makes a statement which, in the demure words of Gibbon, we may well leave in the obscurity of a learned language. Δημοχάρην ἡταιρηκέναι μὲν τοῖς ἄνω μέρεσι τοῦ σώματος, οὐκ εἶναι δ' ἄξιον τὸ ιερὸν πῦρ φυσᾶν.<sup>53</sup> The charge seems to have been notoriously false and Polybius berates Timaeus for giving any credence to such

<sup>51</sup> Kock, Com. Att. Fr. ii, 201. Cf. also ibid. ii, 168.

<sup>52</sup> Kock, Com. Att. Fr. ii, 457. Cf. ii, 452. That the resentment of the persons attacked showed itself in the usual way, by agitation against comic freedom, is indicated in the verses preserved of Philipides, directed against Stratocles, one of the creatures of Demetrius, Plutarch, Dem. 12.

δι' ὅν ἀπέκανσεν ἡ πάχνη τὰς ἀμπέλους,  
δι' ὅν ἀσεβοῦντ' ὁ πέπλος διερράγη μέσος,  
τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ποιοῦντ' ἀνθρωπίνας.  
ταῦτα καταλύει δῆμον, οὐ κωμῳδία.

With this we may compare the emphatic words of Plato's Laws, 935 e: ποιητὴ δὲ κωμῳδίας . . . μὴ ἔξεστω μῆτε λόγω μῆτε εἰκόνι . . . μηδαμῶς μηδέντα τῶν πολιτῶν κωμῳδεῖν.

<sup>53</sup> Polybius, xii, 13. It may be well to remember that this was a most serious charge to bring against a public man. It did not merely subject him to ridicule and contempt. If it were true it disqualified him completely from holding public office or appearing as a rhetor, as the striking instance of Timarchus shows. Cf. the entire speech of Aeschines against the latter. Serious as it was, however, to make it was not within the libel law. It was not one of the ἀπόρρητα. This disposes of the suggestion sometimes made that the ἀπόρρητα were those accusations which, if true, involved the offender in *atimia*.

absurd testimony. It will be noted that it was a serious charge to bring against an Athenian politician; that, like the accusation of military cowardice, it involved civil incapacities.

But while we find accusations of theft, treason, cowardice, viciousness, sacrilege hurled against various persons, we do not find the comic poets using any of the *ἀπόρρητα* or any unmistakable equivalent of them. When the famous hetaera Gnathaena is called *ἀνδροφόνος*, it was not meant literally that she had committed murder.<sup>54</sup> Besides, Gnathaena was undoubtedly a foreigner. Again, Philonides uses one of the *ἀπόρρητα*, the word *πατραλοῖαι*, but he uses it of the Megarians.<sup>55</sup> Except for such references no passage in our extant fragments contains any of the epithets which, by the law we are considering, constituted actionable libel at Athens.

We have then the following circumstances. In the Birds, produced in 414 B. C., Aristophanes makes a charge against Cleonimus by innuendo, although he had before made the precise charge directly. In that same year, Syracosius passed a law which in some way restrained comic license. Very near that year, a law was passed which penalized the use of certain expressions anywhere, and these expressions do not occur in any play or fragment of play that we know was written after that time, although many of them contain personal and violent abuse. These circumstances seem to me to be mutually attractive. They cry to be combined and their combination forms the hypothesis I have ventured to advance in this paper.

One "unsayable" thing has not been mentioned. At some time the list contained a prohibition which forbade sneering at any citizen for having worked in the market-place.<sup>56</sup> We do not know whether this was in the original list of *ἀπόρρητα*. It is not mentioned by Lysias, although it is assumed that he meant his list to be exhaustive. Whether that is so or not, the inclusion of this form of *όνειδισμός* is not mentioned till the time of Demosthenes, and it might very well have been added after 384 B. C.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Philippides, Athen. ix, 384 e.

<sup>55</sup> Pollux, ix, 29.

<sup>56</sup> Demosthenes in Eubul. 30, 1308, 3. *τὸν τὴν ἐργασίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀγορᾷ ή τῶν πολιτῶν ή τῶν πολιτίδων ὀνειδίζοντά τινι.*

<sup>57</sup> Glotz, in Dar. Saglio Dict. iii, 790, makes the reasonable suggestion

Now Aristophanes, in 411 B. C., in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, says of Clito, the mother of Euripides, that she had been a *λαχανοπωλήτρια*.<sup>58</sup> That is evidently the type of *όνειδισμός* which is forbidden. There are, however, a number of hypotheses by which we may account for it. The most plausible is the one already mentioned, that the expression was not found in the original list. Or else we may suppose that Clito was dead when the *Thesmophoriazusae* was produced.

The law *μὴ ὄνομαστί* would not be hard to understand. Knowing that a somewhat similar statute had existed between 440-437 B. C., knowing that in 414 Syracosius had passed a law that somewhat annoyed writers of comedies, a late rhetorician might well have invented a specific statute which forbade the use of names and ascribed it to Syracosius. If he were true to his craft, he would not be troubled much by contradictions that the least painstaking examination would show, particularly if it helped to render plausible a trichotomy of the sort always popular among his tribe.

Although the complete scheme was not worked out till somewhat later, it may have been Dionysius Thrax who made the original mischief. If so, much must be forgiven a man born in that barbarous and unhappy country.

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that the list was enlarged from time to time. It is, however, difficult to follow him when he asserts that this accusation was made actionable because idleness exposed an Athenian to the *γραφὴ ἀργίας*.

<sup>58</sup> Thesm. 387, 456, 910. Also Ranae, 840. The Frogs was produced in 405 B. C. Cf. Acharn. 457, 458.

## THE PRIMARY MS. OF PROBUS *INST. ART.*

(WITH A PLATE, IN NATURAL SIZE, FROM VAT. URBIN. LAT. 1154)

Keil based his edition of the *Instituta Artium* of Probus (Gramm. Lat. IV) on Lindemann's apograph of a MS. to which Keil gives in his apparatus the symbol *R* (i. e. Romanus). It was a 'mystery MS.' Keil had not seen it, nor (apparently) had Lindemann. Mai had seen it in the Vatican Library and described it as (Class. Auct. V 153) 'litteris partim quadratis scriptum in membrana pertenui ac laevigata.' Here was a prize for palaeographers, a MS. presumably with the same mixture of script as the Turin *Sedulius*, capitals and uncials. And, no doubt, palaeographers hunted it through the dark mazes of the Vaticana; but it baffled its pursuers by a repeated alias, first 'Vat. lat. 531,' then 'Vat. lat. 8254,' then 'Vat. lat. 8260.' Its original owner had been the Duke of Urbino; and the runaway, now returned to allegiance, is no. 1154 of the Urbinates latini at the Vaticana. Stornajolo includes it in the third volume of his catalogue of that collection, but unfortunately contents himself with Mai's misleading description of its script. For the MS. is not written in capitals, but in uncials. And oh what uncials!

Before giving rein to rapture, let me mention that Keil makes occasional use of another MS. (*B*). It too has been 'on the run,' and has finally come home from Austria (where it was no. 17 in the Vienna Library) to Italy (Naples Museum). There is no mystery about *B*, except its distractingly difficult script. It belonged to Bobbio and, if my notes on its Irish abbreviation-symbols for *autem*, etc. are correct, was written in the Bobbio scriptorium as early as a scriptorium existed there. (Columban came from founding Luxeuil to found Bobbio in 614.) There is a photograph of its North Italian Cursive in Wien. Stud. XIV 278.

The Bobbio Library had three MSS. of various works of Probus (Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, 32, 381-383). The other two were not (as has often been supposed) written at Bobbio. They belonged to that earlier collection (if Beer's bold theory in *Mon. Pal. Vind.* be correct, Cassiodore's Vivarium library) which Columban acquired, partly to fill the Bobbio

bookshelves, partly to provide palimpsest writing-material for his scribes. They are in a running hand, very suitable for the script of technical treatises like grammars (see plates in Chroust's *Mon. Pal.* I xi; Beer's *Mon. Pal. Vind.* II; Cipolla's *Codici Bobbiesi* xxxv). One is fairly well preserved (Vienna 16, now at Naples, foll. 76 sqq.). Of the other only a leaf survived (in Turin G V 4); and that leaf perished in the Turin Library fire. Cipolla's plate preserves a page of it in photograph.

Of *B* Keil says that it clearly comes from the same archetype as *R* and is not so accurate. He therefore gets little help from it, except here and there where *R* has omitted a word or two (or a line or two). What he prints is almost wholly *R*, though he is culpably careless in following *B* rather than *R* at 74, 14. Here Probus wrote *tractabimus*; *R* (with the Italian substitution of *v* for *b*) offers *tractavimus*, while *B* tries conjectural 'emendation,' *tractare debeamus* (cf. 82, 16; 84, 3 and 33; 85, 2, etc., etc.). The exemplar of *B* was a MS. of the ancient world, to judge from the subscription *UTERE FELIX LAPPADI MERCURI Scriptor cum patronis gaude.*

And now for *R*. I would date it 'not later than the first half of the sixth century.' It is a perfectly glorious MS., fit for the library of some great nobleman (such as Cassiodore, the Minister of Theodoric), in beautifully formed uncials, with vellum of the finest quality and with broad margins. In its preparation expense has never been avoided; everything is on a sumptuous scale, and there has been no attempt to save space. For example, after three lines of text, fol. 226<sup>r</sup> was left blank that fol. 226<sup>v</sup> might begin a new section:

DECLINATIO ACTIVE TERTIAE CONIUGATIONIS CORREPTAE.

The paradigms, which are crowded into a few lines of print by Keil, spread over whole pages. How extraordinary that a mere grammar should be enshrined like this!

And yet, as is so often found in calligraphic specimens, the scribe has thought more of beauty than of accuracy. He has been guilty of many omissions, some of them very large. A certain number are supplied by a contemporary (no one who looks at the MS. can doubt that he was a contemporary) who uses precisely the script of the leaf in Turin G V 4 and of the part (foll. 76 sqq.) of Vienna 16 which contains Probus and

## De

AETERNIS VITIS HABENDIS

THIRTEEN YEARS OF HABITATION

CONSTITUTUS VITIS SCULPTA LIFE

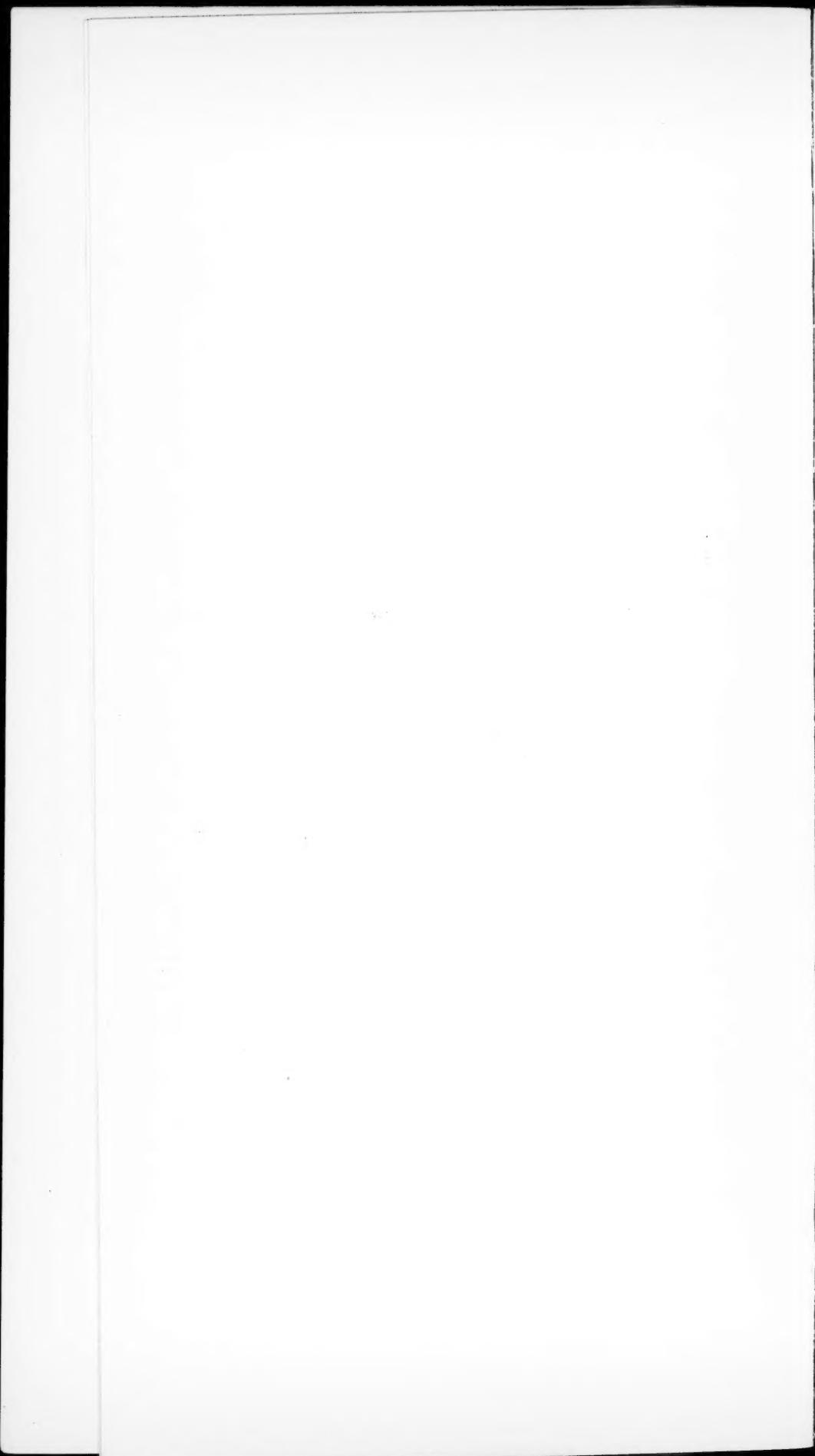
DIPLOMATICALLY

+ DESIGNATED AS A DIPLOMATIC  
MISSIONARY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

HIC. FLUENTIS. FLAVIUS. FLAVIUS. FLAVIUS.

HIC. FLAVIUS. FLAVIUS. FLAVIUS. FLAVIUS.





other grammarians. Indeed, I think that these MSS. shew not merely the same script but the same scribe (or scribes). The script is a refinement of that curious script of the Fronto palimpsest's marginalia which gets from me the name of 'daddy-longlegs script,' since its far-flung *f*'s, *s*'s, etc. remind me of the long legs of the large fly which sway as it drifts through the air. For this 'daddy-longlegs script' see e. g. p. 90 of the Vatican facsimile of the Fronto palimpsest (turn the page upside down).

It is a script of the ancient world, descended from some types found in Herculanean Latin Papyri (especially the type in no. 904). Something like it, not so bizarre, is used by Dulcitus, who corrected at Aquino the half-uncial Hilary papyrus (Vienna 2160\*) in the middle of the sixth century (see *Pal. Soc. II* xxxi; *Mon. Pal. Vind. I*; Chroust, etc.).

But the larger number of supplements follow the rule prescribed to his Vivarium scribes by Cassiodore, that a supplement should imitate the script of the text. They are in uncials, more crowded and upright than the beautiful uncials of the text, and are written in black ink (while the ink of the older supplements and of the text has a yellow look), apparently later by half a century, if not a whole century, than the text itself. One supplement is so large that it fills not merely the top margin but the lower margin also. To connect its two portions the scribe has used, at the end of the upper and the beginning of the lower half, a Christian symbol (a kind of *Christus-monogram*), a cross whose upright is turned into a Rho by the addition of a half-circle at the top and has on either side of its base an Alpha and an Omega (fol. 20<sup>v</sup>).

This noble volume passed in the eighth (or seventh?) century into the custody of a librarian who appreciated its value. For he has recorded in careful minuscule at its end the number of its leaves: *haec (sic) liber habet quaterniones XXXVI* (with the 'stigma' for 'six') *triginta et sex et folia CCXC ducenta et nonaginta*. The minuscule, bold and clear, of this conspicuously prominent entry is the Luxeuil type of minuscule (see Sir E. Maunde Thompson's *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, facs. 124). Is it then certain that *R* passed into the library of Luxeuil? Well, not certain; for palaeo-

graphers do not know enough about the Luxeuil type to assign a precise date or a precise place: indeed, Traube believed the same type to have been used also in North Italy. But quite probable.

And now I will leave my stalking-horse and face the critic's horns. If Beer's bold theory be correct (and it has been praised by be-praised men), *R* was, I suggest, a possession of the Cassiodore household and passed into the library, first of Vivarium, then of Luxeuil or Bobbio. *Aut Cassiodori erat aut diaboli.*

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## INSCRIPTIONS FROM ISAURIA.

In the process of unearthing pre-Hellenic origins in Asia Minor much may be expected from the growing collections of Hittite, Lydian and other indigenous records. These studies are already serviceable in restoring some portion of the lost Anatolian background, and they further reflect light on the results of research conducted from the Hellenistic side. From the latter side again the philologists are making headway and in particular Sundwall, relying on Anatolian nomenclature, has pushed further the conclusions of Kretschmer; and the work so admirably done by these philologists gives fresh significance to what were formerly the by-products of historical and archæological research. In this newer linguistic department of the Anatolian field the contribution of Sir William Ramsay is second only to that of the specialists: it is to his suggestion that the present paper, dealing with nomenclature mostly, is due; and towards its preparation he has given of his scholarship and experience with the utmost generosity.

One of the questions hitherto unanswered connects with the district on the south coast drained by the Kalykadnos, and occupied when history opens by tribes called Kilikes and Isauri. The relationship between the people of Isaurica and the Cilicians of Tracheiotis (to adopt Strabo's nomenclature, which is doubtless correct, and is probably derived from Artemidorus), remains as yet undetermined. There was some national difference, as Strabo clearly indicates, but perhaps they may both be included under the heading of Old Anatolian. At any rate a certain amount of difference in language and in character (if we assume an original identity of speech) would be caused by the fact that the Cilicians of Tracheiotis looked naturally towards the south and the level Cilicia and Syria; while the Isaurian people looked to the north and to Lycaonia. Roughly speaking the valley of the Kalykadnos, which in its north-western part is extremely broken and difficult to cross, forms the main part of Tracheiotis.

The mountainous district of Taurus naturally gave shelter to a population fleeing from the plains on the north at one or more conquests. Ramsay has pointed out that the name Isauria is

unknown to Strabo, who speaks about a certain district lying round the two large villages or towns of Anatolian character, called Isauria Old and Isauria New, as Isaurica.

The situation of both these towns is certain: they lay on the northern slopes of Taurus. Gradually the name of a country called Isauria came into existence under the Romans, and was applied to a very large part of the Taurus region; but in the time of Strabo and the first century P. C. this Taurus region, as distinguished from Strabo's Isaurica, was Cilicia Tracheia, and was first governed by various kings, and at last, after 72 A. D., was included in the province Cilicia, to which previously the subject King of Tracheiotis had looked for direction and assistance in difficulties. According to Strabo the people of Isaurica were Lycaonians: doubtless he relies on the evidence of language as well as on the fact that under the later Roman Republic the people of Isaurica were included in the *conventus* which met at Iconium. This *conventus* is commonly assumed to be intended by Cicero when he speaks about the Lycaonian *conventus*: but this current opinion is incorrect. It is clear from Cicero's references that he meant by the Lycaonian *conventus* the one which met at Philomelion, and that he called the *conventus* which met at Iconium the Isaurian. The entire country which reaches north towards Iconium includes the town of Lystra or Lustra (perhaps originally called by the Anatolian name Sultra which has persisted to the present day under the form Zoldra: cf. Ramsay in *J. H. S.* 1920, p. 107).

Lycaonia of the plain was far more exposed than Lycaonia Isaurica of the hills and mountains to intermingling of nations and to the influence of Greek language and education. With this intermingling the old personal names were gradually, sometimes rapidly, replaced by Greek or Roman names, and perhaps earlier by Phrygian names; for the Phrygians conquered and held a large part of the level country which Strabo calls by the name Lycaonia. Iconium was the extreme city of the Phrygians southwards and south-east. On the north Lycaonia was over-run by the old Phrygian invaders. While the whole country south from Iconium was Isaurian and Lystra or Lustra was originally an Isaurian town speaking the Lycaonian tongue (*Acts XIV, 12*), the higher region on the west of Iconium was

not Isaurian but Orondian. Whether the tribe of Orondeis was Phrygian or Old Anatolian or a mixture of the two nationalities remains uncertain, but it is more probable that this mountainous region gave shelter to an original Anatolian occupation, and that the Orondian Zeus or Apollo or Dionysos or Hues was an Anatolian deity, originally simply "the God," then assimilated to foreign gods and invested with their names. Exploration and the collection of inscriptions, containing names and evidence of religious custom, offer the only means of studying this Isaurian and Isaurian or Tracheiotic problem. Sterrett has rendered good service in his "Wolfe Expedition." To his collection I may be permitted to add two or three of the inscriptions which I copied in 1907, and which contain some instructive personal names. The names must be studied in relation to those of the great Korykian inscriptions best published by Heberdey & Wilhelm: and on the other hand with the names of Lycaonia on the level plain towards the north. On the whole the inscriptions collected by Sterrett in north-eastern Tracheiotis and in Isauria show the influence of the north and of semi-Phrygian, semi-Greek and slightly Roman nomenclature.

1. Dinek Belen (1907: in the hills, about midway between Artanada and Nea Isaura). On column 16" diameter, broken across top, complete at end.

ΜΗΤΕΙΚΕΚΤΟ

ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΣΖΩΔΙΑΚΑΤΑΣΣΔ  
 ΥΤΩΝΤΕCCAPACKAΙMΙΚΙΛΟΥΠΑΙΔΑC  
 ΤΡΕΙCKΑΙKABIPINTIΛΙΟCYIONΕNTWC  
 5 ΤΗΘΕΙΤΟΥΛΕΟΝΤΟCKΑΙMΜΑT/ΝΘΥΓΑ  
 ΤΕΡΑΜΙΚΙΛΟΥΥΠΟΚΑΤΩΤΟΥΛΕΟΝΤΟC  
 ΚΑΙINNEINKABIPΙOСΘΥГАTΕΡАKAIСOYB  
 ΓΡАMINKOУNДIОСYIОНTЕӨNНKOTA

[Μίκιλος καὶ Πίλλις καὶ Κάβιρις καὶ  
 Κούνδις  
 ἀδελφοὶ ἐποίησαν τὸ ἥρων ἐν φ  
 ἔθαιραν

1. 1. \*Ελιος for Αιλιος
1. 2. ζωδια apparently for  
 ζωντα = ζωσας?

Τάταν τὴν] μητέρα Ἐ[λίου θυγατέρα  
 καὶ τὰς τέσσαρας  
 γυναῖκας ζωδια καὶ [τὰς ἀδελφὰς α]  
 ὑπῶν τέσσαρας καὶ Μικίλου παιδας  
 τρεῖς καὶ Κάβιριν Πιλλίους νιὸν ἐν τῷ σ-  
 5 τήθει τοῦ λέοντος καὶ Ἰματιν θυγα-  
 τέρα Μικίλου ὑποκάτω τοῦ λέοντος  
 καὶ Ἰννειν Καβίριος θυγατέρα καὶ Σουβί-  
 γραμιν Κούνδιος νιὸν τεθνηκότα

This inscription marks a tomb constructed by four persons, probably brothers, but certainly so closely related as to construct a common tomb for themselves and their families. The tomb, being not merely the grave but also the temple of the dead, could not be lawfully shared by different families.

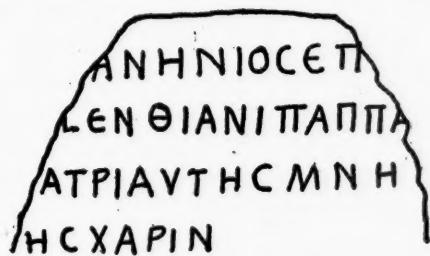
The four who join in constructing the tomb bear the remarkable names Mikilos, Pillis, Kabeiros and Koundis, which present a wide range of interest. Mikilos is characteristic rather of the north and is found not infrequently on the Lycaonian plateau. Probably the feminine name, Mikka, is connected. Pillis belongs rather to the Tracheiotic type exemplified in the great Korykian inscription. Kabeiros is a really important addition to our knowledge of east Anatolian nomenclature, and proves that this name must be treated as originally Anatolian, spreading to Samothrace in virtue of either religious or racial influence. It is obviously (as Messrs. Buckler and Robinson have pointed out) derived from an Old Lydian, and doubtless Anatolian, word indicating priest or priestess. The feminine form Kaeus has been found at Sardis. From this name for priest comes Kabeiros, where the B is really an attempt to indicate in Greek character the Anatolian sound approximating to W, which occurs in the Old Lydian or Anatolian word. Koundis is specially interesting. The intimate relations between personal names and place names in Anatolia has frequently been pointed out. Among the Tekmoreian inscriptions in Pisidian (*Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 365, where by a slip Koundoia is printed Koundozia). There we have the local name corresponding to this Cilician personal name.

These Cilician names, therefore, extend north of Taurus into

the plains of Lycaonia and of Phrygia. They occur occasionally throughout southern Lycaenia: an example occurs at Laodiceia, where Ramsay copied in 1881 and published in 1885 an epitaph containing the name Drouma< ma >ris, where the syllable MA is a dittography and the true name is, as he afterwards observed, Droumaris. This name is evidently identical with the name in the Korykian inscription, Zrumeris, where the difference of vocalization is characteristic of the difference of pronunciation between the southern and the northern region. The name Tarkundberras occurs in Isaura Palaia: compare Rondberras at Korykos. Another common name at Korykos is Misraios, which appears once as Mistraios, with T inserted between S and R. Two derivations suggest themselves, either Mithraios, 'the man of Mithras,' or Misraim, Egypt, and so 'the Egyptian.' In Pisidian Phrygia Mithrēs occurs (*Studies in the E. R. P.*, p. 331), and somewhat favours the former explanation. The prevalence of Mithras-worship among the *piratae Cilicum* is at least as old as Pompey's campaign, and would account for Mistraios as naturally as it produced the Persian Mitraios.

In the Korykian inscription there are several classes of names, setting aside those which are purely Greek or Roman: (1) a large class of names similar to Tas, Mos, Zas, Klous, Glous, (2) a class of long compound names, in most of which the first element is a divine name known or conjectured, (3) a class of names shortened and broken down from (2) to a familiar abbreviation.

## 2. Dulgerler (Artanada). In the Djami.



\*Ιμμα] Νήνιος ἐπ[έσ-  
τησ]εν ΘΙΑΝΙ Παππᾶ  
θυγ]ατρὶ αὐτῆς μνή[μ-  
ης χάριν

There is an Imma, daughter of Nēnis, in Sterrett W. E. no. 92. but Nenis is a name frequently found at Artanada. Thiani is important.

3. Ermenek (Germanicopolis). At entrance to a rock tomb below the town.

1 ΙΟΥΣΤΟΣΛΟΝΓΕΙΝΟΥΚΑΙΩΙΑΝ  
ΝΤΟΥΕΠΟΗСАΝΤΟМНΗМЕИОНТО  
ΤОКАΙЕПАРОМАИТОУСКАТАХӨОНЮ  
УСӨЕЧКЕТННАНШСЕЛННННМНЕЗ  
5 ΟΝΕИНЕАNYΖЕНЕПИТНДЕУС  
ЕЗЕНЕНКНОСТЕАНЕПЕМВАЛН  
ОНПТШМАНКЕЛЕУСИ      ПАРА  
ОГЕГРАМЕНАИСЕНЕНКЕИНӨҮСЕИТОИСКАТА  
ӨОНЮИСӨЕИСКЕТНАСЕЛНННАИГОНКАИ  
10 РОТОТОКОНУ НКАИЕННЕАҮҮХАС  
ОПИНАСЕЗОНДЕЕИНАИТОИСТЕКНОИСМОУ  
ЕНТІӨЕСӨЕКАИСҮН      АҮТШНТАСГУНАИКАСТАС  
ОМШГАМНӨЕИСАСКЕТЕКНОИСАҮТШНКЕЕГОНОИС  
ЕТЕРОСЕПИТНДЕУС  
15 ΤΟΥГЕНОУСАПОДВСИТВФІСКВДННАРІА  
МНЕЗОНЕИНАИМНДЕТОИСТЕКНОИСНЕГОНОІС  
АРАПАНЕЗОНТІПОЛНСАІ      НМЕТАӨЕСӨЕ  
ОДІКАІОНТОУТОЕПІУПОКЕІСОНТАІТОИСПР  
ОСТЕІМОІСЛАСІНТОІСТРОГЕГРАМЕНОІС

1. \*Ιουστος Δονγείνου καὶ [Θ]ιάν[η Και·-  
ντου ἐπόησαν τὸ μνημεῖον το[ῦ-  
το· καὶ ἐπαρ(ῶ)μαι τοὺς καταχθονίο-  
υς θε(οὺς) κὲ τὴν ἄνω Σελήνην μὴ ἔξ-  
5. δὸν εἶνε ἀλητές η ἐπιτηδεῦσ[ε ἔτερον·  
ἐὰν δέ τις] ἔξενάνκη ὀστέα η ἐπεμβάλῃ [ἄλ-  
λον πτῶμα η κελεύσι [τινὰ] παρὰ  
τὰ πρ]ογεγραμένα ἵστενενκεῖν θύσει τοῖς κατα-  
χ]θονίοις θεοῖς κὲ τῇ ἄνω Σελήνῃ αἴγον (sic!) καὶ

10. π]ρ(ω)τοτόκον ὑν καὶ ἐννέα ψυχὰς  
(ω)πίνας· ἔξον δὲ εἶναι τοῖς τέκνοις μου  
ἐντίθεσθε καὶ συν[είναι] αὐτῶν τὰς γυναικας τὰς  
ν]όμῳ γαμηθείσας κὲ τέκνοις αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγόνοις· [ἐὰν δέ  
τις] ἔτερος ἐπιτηδεῦσ[η η ἐπεμβάλῃ τινὰ  
ἔξω] τοῦ γένους, ἀποδώσι τῷ φίσκῳ δηνάρια [ΒΦ' (?)  
μὴ ἔξον εἶναι μηδὲ τοῖς τέκνοις η ἐγόνοις [τὸ  
π]αράπαν <ἔξόν> τι π(ω)λῆσαι η μεταθέσθε  
τ]ὸ δίκαιον τοῦτο, ἐπὶ ὑποκείσονται τοῖς πρ-  
οστείμοις πᾶσιν τοῖς προγεγραμένοις.

Line 1. My copy has Π or ΒΙΑΝΕ: impression supports ΚΟΙ at end.

Line 10. ΕΝΝΕΑ legible in impression, followed by ΨΥΧ, as in copy, followed by extremely doubtful ΑΛΛΑС. The impression favoured the readings ΑΙΓΟΝ and ΥΟΝ, gross blunder for αἴγα and ὑν and barely credible: but ΘΥCΕΙ line 8 is the important word and it is sure.

“Justus, son of Longeinos and Thiane, daughter of Quintus made this tomb: and I invoke the infernal deities, and the celestial Selene not to permit anyone to open it or to inter another: and if anyone carries out bones or inserts another corpse or gives orders to carry in anyone in violation of the prescribed limits he will sacrifice to the infernal deities and the celestial Selene a goat and a pig that has had its first litter and nine other animals (?) : and let it be permissible to my children to be placed in the tomb, and to their lawfully wedded wives to rest along with them, and to their children and descendants: and if anyone buries or inserts anyone outside the family he will pay a fine to the fiscus of 2500 (?) denarii: it is not permissible either for children or descendants at all to make any

sale or to alter this just claim, since (the transgressors) will be liable to all the prescribed penalties." Although excessively weathered the lettering is sufficiently legible to make clear the meaning in all essentials. Justus and Thiane combine to construct for their family a sepulchre of the type common in Isauria, consisting of a large chamber chiselled out of the solid rock, in this case of hard limestone. The epitaph is composed in Anatolian Greek of the second or third century P. C. There is obvious itacism, as in *ἐπί* for *ἐπει*, just as *ις* often replaces *εις*, and *ι*, *ει*; while *ο* takes the place of *ω*; and *αι* and *ει*, and *η*, *ει*, and *ι* are freely interchanged. It is difficult therefore to be sure whether an apparent blunder in grammar, like *ἐάν* with the seeming future indicative (as *κελεύσει*) is really intended.

In such epitaphs the form of words used generally prescribes, often by name, the persons whose remains have been or may be legally interred in the tomb. What usually counted was membership of the *γένος*. The tomb is reserved normally for a small family group (*ἰδιοι*): excluded are *οι ξεωθειν*, *οι ἀλλότριοι*, since the place is private, not public, and concerns the family above all else. In the present epitaph the lines are drawn precisely and comprehensively. Along with the parents the children are as usual provided for, and the parents act together although the imprecation is in the singular (*ἐπαρομαί*) and *τέκνοις μον* is engraved for *ημῶν*, in stereotyped phrasing. Besides the children their lawfully wedded wives and their children and descendants are admitted: all others stand outside the privileged circle. (Cf. Ramsay, *J. H. S.* 1918, p. 147.) The name of the wife *Θιαν*—can be completed from no. 2 as *Θιάνη* or *Θιάρα*. This is probably a way of expressing in Greek letters the Anatolian name which in the great Korykian list would be written *Tbiáva*. The masculine *Tbiás* occurs there, also grecized. The initial consonant was evidently unknown to the Greeks of Europe, and could not be rendered exactly by the Greek alphabet. It approximated to the English th in *this* and could be rendered variously. The ease with which th, d, and t may be confused is obvious from the common practice among foreigners of pronouncing *this* and *that* as *dis* and *dat*, and even *tis* and *tat*.

Divine names were often used for human names in the epoch known to us in Anatolia: so that in Tracheiotis *Θιάρα* became a

woman's name. Yet the same name perhaps migrated to Italy (Cumae, Etruria, Latium), via Lydia, and became Diana. Such is Ramsay's view, and we find that it fits in with a number of facts otherwise unaccountable. It also supports the growing conviction that the strong literary tradition which derived Etruscan civilization from Lydia not merely was founded on fact but when worked out will solve many difficulties of early Roman (and Greek) history. The strong national and western bias of Italians and Greeks tended not merely to obscure but to reverse eastern affiliations: and this has thrown discredit on many pieces of old and quite sound evidence.

Difficulty has been felt, for example, with the high traditional date of the foundation of Cumae, the earliest Hellenic settlement in Italy, and admittedly a most significant enterprise. If the original settlers were Hellenes, 1100 B. C. is an incredible figure when compared with B. C. 734 for Syracuse and similar dates for other Greek colonies in *Magna Graecia*. The half-legendary foundations of Cumae, however, may be connected rather with the older Anatolian immigration into Italy: and the widespread influence of this foundation was extended and intensified by accessions of Greek colonists in the eighth and seventh centuries, who may be the original founders of Neapolis nearby, as a rival more or less friendly of the older settlement. The spread of Greek culture, including religion, which was active from the eighth century, was preceded by the Anatolian influx and one of the oldest seats of the worship of Diana, at Tifata, not far north of Cumae and Capua, should be assigned to the earlier immigrants. In historic times Diana is the huntress; but that is due to Greek influence: she was originally the goddess of women and childbirth, and matrons made offerings to her. In some places men were forbidden to enter her shrine. The most famous seat of Diana was the lake and forest of Nemi near Aricia and Tusculum, where the "nymph" Egeria may be regarded as a personification of some epithet or title of Diana. Egerius is known as a Latin-Etruscan name. The house of Diana Nemorensis was near the old centre of the league of Latin cities. Her worship is therefore very old in Latium, and such cults are generally of Etruscan (and Anatolian?) origin. The settlement at Cumae founded by immigrants from Asia

Minor would account for its ascription by Strabo, p. 253, to Aeolic Cumae. Eusebius is in that case right in assigning the very early date of 1100 B. C., and the late claim of Euboean Cumae and Chalcis must be referred to the refoundation three centuries later, at the very outset of the Greek colonizing movement. Those who look for Phoenician origins in Graeco-Roman lands have overlooked the Anatolian equation, as Victor Bérard does when he claims Cymae as a Phoenician colony, Kouma. His assumption of early contact between the orient and the Bay of Naples is not however mistaken. It is noteworthy that the priestess of Athene at Ilios is called Theano (Il. V, 70; VI, 298; XI, 224), and she may have, according to Anatolian custom, borne the name of the goddess. Though probable, this is not proved. Further Theano was the name of one of the Danaides; and the wife of Metapontos, the king of Icaria, was named Theano; which again connects her with the very early migration of the old-Ionians to Italy, through the city of Metapontum. The name Theano (while remaining obscure) is associated with the earliest Ionian-Aeolian mythology and religion.

In an inscription of Northern Phrygia, found by Prof. Calder, which contains a poem of the religious curse consigning the unauthorized intruder to the appropriate gods, the phrase used is *Πουρουανακταν κε οὐράνιον ἰσγεικετ Διονηιν*, which means perhaps "he is subject to," or "is possessed by," or "has as witnesses and avengers" "the Pourouanax and the heavenly Diouni." Here Diouni is the Greek Diône, the Latin Diana, "the moon in heaven." Pourouanax is "the king of the underworld." That the vocalization of Diouni, Diône, Diana, should differ is a familiar Anatolian phenomenon, needing no comment. Pourouanaktan contains an unexampled first syllable. Possibly *πουρο* may correspond to Greek *παῦρος*, *humilis* i. e. inferior: and the 'king of the lower world' is Pouro-ouanak, the lower world being conceived not as a pit but as a plain similar to the earth but on a lower level, as earth is similar to heaven but lower. *Οὐράνιος* in that case will imply *δρον*, 'above' and *πουρο*, which here occurs for the first time, will mean 'below.' *ανακτ*, 'king' is Phrygian: and so with *κοιρανος*, *βασιλεύς* and other social terms.

The grave was by ancient custom in Anatolia placed under

the guardianship of the Θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι and οὐράνιοι, or Μῆν οὐράνιος καὶ καταχθόνιος, or even simply Μῆν καταχθόνιος (Sterrett, *Epigraphical Journey*, no. 211, also copied by Ramsay: text correct). The phrase Θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι also occurs alone. The Sun and the Moon are also appointed guardians, "the sun by day the moon by night." In Tracheiotis and Cilicia generally the grave is often placed under the protection of Selene; but nearly always in association with other deities. Zeus, Helios, Athena, Apollo and Demeter are amongst the colleagues of the moon-goddess, the choice depending on personal preference and local feeling. The phrase ἡ ἄνω Σελίνη for simple Σελίνη may point the contrast between the Ouranian and the familiar chthonic powers who, like the Dii Manes, shared with the dead their abiding home and are hardly distinguishable from the spirits of the dead themselves. It may be inferred however that there was in the district of Ermenek an important cult of the type usual and regular in Anatolia, although the type figured little in public documents and literature, since those concerned were chiefly persons initiated in the mysteries. The name Selene which is ordinarily given as a Greek word, connected with *σέλας*, may quite well be Anatolian, a native name to designate the indigenous nature goddess who dwelt above either on the hill-tops or in the heavens. Μῆνη is evidently the Indo-European *Moon*, both planet and goddess. On the other hand Σεληνός admittedly derives from Asia Minor, and the long list of names given by Sundwall from Cilicia, Isauria, Pisidia, Lycia and Lydia, containing zala and allied roots, connects with the Anatolian divine name, whatever its exact form may have been. To this group belongs, amongst others, the tribal name Σόλυμοι and it is noteworthy that this name was used to cover both Pisidians and Isaurians at an early date.

The Ermenek epitaph seems to be unique in so far as it specifies in detail the religious penalty (not a money fine) imposed upon the violator of the tomb, instead of consigning him in general terms to the wrath of the god or goddess. The *piaculum* consists of a goat, a pig that has had one litter, and nine other creatures (apparently), which are to be sacrificed to the Katachthonioi and Selene, while the money fine, *multa*, goes to the fiscus. In the province of Cilicia the payment consists gen-

erally of 1000 to 2500 denarii, sometimes of a sum of drachmae, the Attic standard being mentioned in one or two cases. On most tombs fines are ordered payable to several authorities, often to the *ταμεῖον* of a *δῆμος* or a *πόλις*, or a temple, or again to the *ταμεῖον τοῦ κυρίου Καίσαρος*, i. e. the fiscus. Frequently a specified reward went to the informant-prosecutor (οἱ *μηντής* or οἱ *ἐλέγχας*), and evidently it was felt necessary to enlist as many agencies as possible in defence of the grave. That the original sanction in Asia Minor (as among the Romans) was a religious penalty was recognized. Probably the secular penalty was introduced into Anatolia not before Seleucid times, and the older sentiment is prominent in this text, although it must be dated in the second or third century P. C. It is composed under priestly influence which is strong enough to lay down in set terms the religious penalty for violation, illustrating the comprehensive control exercised by the native Anatolian theocracies, before the spread of Greek and Roman ideas. Greek and Roman piety are clearly distinguishable from that of Anatolia in many respects in spite of the superficial resemblances.

Religion in Anatolia was largely a family affair as with the Greeks and the Romans; but in Anatolia it was more closely bound up with the cult at the tomb than it was in classical Greece. Hence the anxiety of the family to preserve the sepulchre undisturbed, and hence the insistence on grave-regulations and grave-penalties. In Greece proper these are wanting and one has to go back to semi-legendary times, to the age associated with the Atridae, Orestes and the like, to encounter a similar feeling for the sacrosanctity of the family burying-place.

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## HITTITE KATTA(*N*) AND RELATED WORDS

Forrer's<sup>1</sup> theory that Hittite represents an earlier offshoot from the parent speech than the languages commonly called Indo-European, suggests the hope that the new material may help us in the remoter sort of etymological study sometimes slightly called 'glottogonic.' The purpose of the present paper is to prove that such hope is well founded. In order to make the Hittite contribution stand out clearly, I shall begin by repeating certain speculations about the etymology of the IE. words for 'ten' and their congeners, with which I have sometimes amused my students. What I have to say is chiefly based upon an article by von Blankenstein,<sup>2</sup> although I differ from him in some details.

On the strength of Skt. *dáça*, Gk. δέκα, Lat. *decem*, we can reconstruct IE. \**dekm̥* 'ten,' and similarly Skt. *daçamás* and Lat. *decimus* imply IE. \**dekm̥-os* 'tenth.' An IE. dental stem \**dekm̥t* 'ten' is indicated by Lith. *dēszimt*, Goth. *taihun* (\**dekm̥* would yield \**taihu*), and Skt. *daçát* 'decade' (cf. Gk. δέκας). The corresponding ordinal was \**dekm̥t-os*, whence Gk. δέκατος, Goth. *taihund*.

In addition to the two stems \**dekm̥* and \**dekm̥t*, IE. also shows a dental stem without the initial syllable *de-* in *τριάκοντα* from IE. \**triə komtə* 'three tens,' and in Lat. *vīgintī*, Gk. *εἴκατη* from IE. *uī kmti* 'two tens.' There was also an *o*-stem neuter \**komtom* 'ten tens, hundred' whence Skt. *çatám*, Lat. *centum*, Goth. *hund*, etc.

Since primitive people everywhere count on the fingers, the word for 'ten' ought to mean 'two hands,' and therefore the second member of \**de-km̥(t)* is probably to be connected with Goth. *handus*. The IE. word was no doubt a consonant stem \**komt*, which was transferred to the *u*-declension in Germanic in the same way as Goth. *fōtus* 'foot' beside Gk. πούς, Skt. *pād*, etc. Probably the accusative played an important role in the

<sup>1</sup> *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 61. 26-27 (1921). Cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 14. 300-319 (1925); Sturtevant, *Language* 2. 29-34 (1926).

<sup>2</sup> *Indogermanische Forschungen* 21. 99-115 (1907).

process; for  $*\hat{k}omt\acute{m}$  yielded *handu*, which might then be interpreted as a *u*-stem accusative.

The stem had several different forms in early IE. ( $*\hat{k}omt$ ,  $*\hat{k}mt$ ,  $*\hat{k}m$ ) and we cannot any longer tell under precisely what circumstances each occurred. We must also assume two different meanings 'hand' and 'pair of hands.' The second meaning is virtually what we find in modern English *lend a hand*, *hire a hand*, etc. Note particularly *two hands* meaning 'two laborers.' Possibly each meaning was originally confined to certain forms.

The first element of  $*de-\hat{k}m(t)$  is an old stem  $*de$ ,  $*do$ ,  $*di$  'two,' which has left a trace in Lat. *dis*, Gk.  $\delta\acute{u}\alpha$  'apart, in two directions.' There was another stem  $*\underline{u}e$ ,  $*\underline{u}o$ ,  $*\underline{u}i$  of the same or similar meaning which we have met in its dual neuter form in *viginti*, *fīkari*,  $*\underline{u}\bar{u}\hat{k}mti$  'two tens.' It appears also in Lat. *-ve*, Skt. *-vā*, Gk.  $\eta\acute{e}$  (from  $*\eta\acute{f}e$ ) 'either, or,' and elsewhere. The two combined yielded the ablaut base  $*dewe/o$ , whence the dual nom.-acc. *\*duōu* (Lat. *duō*, etc.)

The stem  $*\hat{k}mt$  appears also in the Greek adverb *κατά* 'along, down,' Ir. *cēt*, Welsh *cant*, Breton *gant* 'with.' From the fact that Greek shows a consonant-stem dative *καταί* parallel with *κατά*, it is clear that the latter also is a case form, and, from the Greek point of view, it could be nothing else than an accusative. The development of meaning is very easy. Fairly close parallels are presented by English *beside*, *along side*, *at hand*, and German *bei der Hand*, *an der Hand*, *zur Hand*. Assyrian *itti* 'with' is a case-form of *ittu* 'side,' and *adi* 'with' (also 'to, until') is etymologically connected with *idu* 'hand.' Gk. *κατά* probably got the meaning 'down' from such phrases as *κατά ρόον* 'with the stream' and then 'down stream.'

It is impossible to separate Lat. *com-*, *cum* 'together, with' from Gk. *κατά*. As verbal prefixes they are practically equivalent, and the Celtic congeners of *κατά* exhibit the precise meaning of the Lat. preposition. Lat. *com*, however, implies IE.  $*\hat{k}om$ , which is related to  $*\hat{k}m$  as  $*\hat{k}omt$  to  $*\hat{k}mt$ . We must, therefore, add this to the three stem-forms indicated by the numerals.

The Hittite words for 'ten,' 'twenty,' 'thirty,' and 'hundred' are still unknown: but we have several derivatives of the word for 'two,'<sup>3</sup> namely, *dayugaš* 'two years old,' *tan* (*ta-a-an*, *da-a-an*) 'iterum,' *damaiš* 'alter,' and *duwan* 'apart' or the like, whose connection with the numeral appears most clearly in the correlative use: *duwan . . . duwan* 'in one direction . . . in the other.'<sup>4</sup> The last-named word contains the familiar stem *\*duo-*; but the other two seem to contain the stem *\*do-*, *o*-grade of the *\*de* which we have assumed as prior member of *\*de-*km*(*t*)*.

The only way to escape this conclusion would be to assume that initial *dy* became *t* in Hittite; then *tan* and *damaiš* would represent the stem-form *\*duo-* and *duwan* would come from *\*duo-* (cf. Lat. *bis* : *duo*, Gk. *δις* : *δύο*, etc.). Since cuneiform characters cannot represent two consonants together at the beginning of a word, it will perhaps never be possible to disprove this interpretation of the facts. If the initial group *tw* persisted in Hittite it must have been written by some such combinations as those seen in *du-wa-an* 'apart' (cf. *ku-wa-at* = Lat. *quod*) or in *tu-e-ta-za* 'ate'<sup>5</sup> (cf. *ku-iš* = Lat. *quis*), and it is, of course, possible to read all forms so written with the vowel *u* instead of the consonant *w*. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the groups *kw* and *nw* (*kwiš*, *kwat*; *ar-nu-an-zi* = Skt. *ṛnvánti* 'they bring') persisted in Hittite, it is probable that *tw* was also preserved. Probably, therefore, *tan* and *damaiš* contain the PIE. stem *\*de*, *\*do* 'two.'

Greek *κατά* has a close parallel in Hittite *katta*, *kattan* 'down, with, along side; afterwards.'<sup>6</sup> The double form occurs also in other adverbs, notably *anta(n)* 'within, into, from within' and *appa(n)* 'back, behind, afterwards.' The same situation confronts us in the neuter singular nom.-acc. of *a*-stems. Hrozný's

<sup>3</sup> See Hrozný, *Die Sprache der Hethiter* 21, 93, 150, *Bogazköi-Studien* 3, 116<sup>2</sup>; Sommer, *BoSt.* 7. 44; Sommer and Ehelolf, *BoSt.* 10. 12. We write *d* or *t* according to the value of the signs in Assyrian, but the Hittite pronunciation was uniformly *t*.

<sup>4</sup> See Hrozný, *BoSt.* 3. 50<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> See Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in Hethitischer Sprache* 44.

<sup>6</sup> See Friedrich, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Neue Folge* 1. 173-174 (1924), *Staatsvertr.* 34.

demonstration<sup>7</sup> that the bare stem sometimes occurs still holds, in my opinion, although some of his material is to be explained otherwise. It is equally certain that we have neuters singular ending in *an*. A clear case is *dannattan* 'deserted, devastated.'<sup>8</sup> In the Law Code § 40 (Hr.) *šahha-mit* 'my š.' stands in line 38, but *šahhan-a* 'and the š.' in line 39. Götze (IF. 42. 327 f.) may be right in his conjecture that *yugan* 'yoke' is an Indic loan-word, but the final nasal is not evidence to that effect. More significant is the fact that Gk.  $\zeta$  = Skt. *y* seems to be represented by Hittite *z* in *zeari* 'coquitur' :  $\zeta\acute{e}\omega$  'boil.' It is probable that we shall have to recognize a nom.-acc. neut. either with or without final *n* in the other vowel-stems also. The *u*-stem neuter without final *n* is well attested; but SIG-in often functions as a neuter adjective.<sup>9</sup> There is, then, no difficulty in recognizing *katta* and *kattan* as variant accusative forms.

Both in the neuter vowel stems and in the adverbs *katta(n)*, *appa(n)*, *anda(n)*, etc., the frequent loss of *n* is due to sandhi-conditions. In particular, the loss seems to have been regular before initial *š*. Sommer and Ehelolf (BoSt. 10. 65) cite *humaššan* and *piraššet*. Closely parallel are the accusatives EN-*iš-ši-in* (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* 6. 4. 4. 6), *ištama-naššan* (*KBo.* 6. 3. 1. 37), and *addaššan* (*2 Boğazköi-Texte in Umschrift* 23 D 1. 10). In the interior of the word we have second sing. *kueši* from *kuen-* (*KBo.* 4. 4. 2. 57, *KUB.* 14. 15. 4. 21), and *hašk-*, iterative from *hann-*.<sup>10</sup> Final *n* is occasionally written before initial *š*, but such conflicts are comparatively rare.

To match the Gk. dative *kataí* we find in Hittite a locative form *katti*, which is used only in combination with possessive suffixes: *katti-(m)mi* 'with me,' *katti-(t)ti* 'with thee,' *katti-(š)ši* 'with him.'<sup>11</sup> Clearly the original meaning of *katti-mi* was 'at my hand' or 'at my side.' Consequently these forms

<sup>7</sup> SH. 41-47; but cf. Friedrich, *Staatsvertr.* 176<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Hattusilis, *Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung* 2. 12 (p. 14 Götze), and *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* 8. 80. 9 (cf. Friedrich, *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* 2. 120—1925).

<sup>9</sup> See Hrozný, SH. 82. In this paper Sumerian ideograms are printed in straight capitals, and Assyrian words in slanting capitals.

<sup>10</sup> See Ehelolf, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 29. 989 (1926).

<sup>11</sup> See Friedrich, ZA., NF. 1. 173.

remove all doubts of the substantival origin of Hittite *katta(n)* and also of Gk. *κατά*.

We cannot, however, identify *katta(n)* and *κατά*, as Hrozný (SH. 32<sup>6</sup>) does, on the basis of IE. \**km̥ta* <or \**km̥tm̥*>. The syllabic nasals, at least when followed by a consonant, yielded *un* or *um* in Hittite, as they did in Germanic. This is clearly the source of the personal ending *un* in the first sing. pret. (e. g. *ešun* 'I was' = Gk. *ἡν*, Skt. *āsam*). The only alternative would be to trace *un* to PIE. *om*, and the evidence is now abundant and clear that IE. *o* is represented in Hittite by *a*.

It is almost equally necessary to trace the acc. pl. ending *uš* in part to *ns*. In the *u*-stems, of course, *uš* comes from *uns*, but it has seemed strange that this one *u*-stem form should have become current in all the declensions, while in the other cases the *o*-stems and *i*-stems have rather been the aggressors. If, however, the consonant stems as well as the *u*-stems regularly developed an acc. pl. in *uš*, that ending was common enough to exert a powerful influence upon the other declensions. Of course an intermediate stage between PIE. *ns* and Hittite *uš* was *uns*.

In the acc. sing. masc.-fem. we regularly have the ending *an* in the consonant-stems (e. g. *humandan* 'totum'), but there is some reason for thinking that the ending *un* was formerly current. I have shown <sup>12</sup> that Hittite *haššuš* 'sun, king' is to be identified with Skt. *bhās* 'lustre, majesty' and Greek *φῶς* 'sun, hero' on the basis of IE. \**bhōs*. I was obliged to leave unexplained the shift from consonant-stem to *u*-stem; but if we assume that phonetic development gave acc. sing. *haššun* and acc. pl. *haššuš*, it is not strange that the other cases fell into line with these.<sup>13</sup>

In the IE. languages the negative prefix *ŋ* furnishes a convenient guide to the varying development of the syllabic nasal. I know of only one Hittite word in which it seems to appear. In a fragment of the Law Code (KBo. 6. 14. 9-10 = § 120 Hr.) we read: *ták-ku um-mi-ya-an-du-uš MUŠEN<sup>HI.A</sup>-uš . . . [ku-iš-ki] ta-a-i-e-iz-zi* *ták-ku* 10 *MUŠEN<sup>HI.A</sup>* 1 *ZU.ZU* [KUBABBAR *pa-a-i*], If [anyone] steals *ummiyanza* birds—if (he steals) 10 birds, [he gives] 1 *ZU.ZU* [of silver]. The

<sup>12</sup> *Language* 3. 116-117 (1927).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Goth. *handus*, *fōtus*, etc.

preceding paragraph is badly mutilated, but clearly it is in a general way parallel to this. In place of *um-mi-ya-an-du-uš* MUŠEN<sup>H1.A</sup>, however, it reads *lu-li-ya-áš* MUŠEN-*i*[*n*]; and the penalty is 12 ZU.ZU. What *luliyáš* means we can only conjecture, but at any rate it is clear that for stealing one bird of this kind the fine is 12 times as great as for stealing 10 *ummiyanza* birds. Hence Hrozný's translation of *ummiyanza* as 'young' is plausible if we add that the *ummiyanza* birds must be very young indeed. Now *miyanza* means 'ripe,'<sup>14</sup> and one is tempted to interpret *um-* as 'un-.' But what is an unripe bird? I have shown (*l. c.*) that *miyari* in an omen text means 'is ripe for birth, is born.' Then *ummiyanza* MUŠEN ought to mean 'egg.' That would fit the context in the code even better than Hrozný's translation; for stealing eggs is far more common than stealing newly hatched chicks.

Consequently the only way to connect *katta(n)* with Gk. *κατά* is to assume that the *o*-grade stem *\*komt-* became Hittite *katt-*. That PIE. *o* became Hittite *a* is well-known, but the change of *mt* to *tt* is not so easy to account for. We should expect partial assimilation to *nt*, not complete assimilation. It is possible, to be sure, to cite instances of *tt* for *nt*. In the first Arzawa letter<sup>15</sup> we read <sup>L</sup>U<sub>ha</sub>-*lu-ga-tal-la-at-ti-in* for <sup>L</sup>U<sub>halugatallan-tin</sub> 'nuntium tuum.' In *KBo. 3. 3. 1 = BoSt. 3. 5. 1* there are repeated references to a town named *Iyaruwadda* or *Iyaruwanda*, and in *KBo. 2. 1. 4. 5 = BoSt. 3. 1. 4. 5* the name of the town *Sanantiya* is written <sup>URU</sup><sub>Šá-na-ti-ya</sub>. Götze (*Hatt. 54<sup>2</sup>*) identified the verb *hatta-* with *handa-* 'fix, determine' and *hattatar* with the derivative *handatar* 'numen'; but Friedrich (*ZA., NF. 3. 186 f.*) holds that *hatta-* is a distinct verb, meaning 'strike, pierce,' and others<sup>16</sup> have suggested different interpretations of *hattatar*. It seems clear that there was some tendency to assimilate *n* to a following *t*, but in general the group *nt* (often written *nd*) survives, as in *handa-* 'bind,' *anda(n)* 'within,' *humant-* 'all,' the participle in *ant-*, the third pl. mid. in *anda*, and very numerous other forms.

<sup>14</sup> See Sturtevant, *Lang. 3. 111-112* (1927).

<sup>15</sup> Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln 31. 19.*

<sup>16</sup> Hrozný, *SH. 223*; Sommer and Ehelolf, *BoSt. 10. 4<sup>1</sup>*.

A consistent and very frequent orthography with *tt* for original *nt*, such as we are assuming for *katta(n)* demands an explanation. It is to be found, I think, in the Assyrian words *QĀDU* 'with' and *QĀTU* 'hand,' both of which occur, in phonetic spelling, in the Hittite texts. It is impossible to consider *katta(n)* as a loan-word taken from either or both of these Assyrian words, on account of the difference in orthography; and besides so common and fundamental a word as *katta(n)* is the very last place to look for a loan word. But the Hittite scribes must have pronounced the consonants of *QĀDU* and *QĀTU* precisely like *k* and *t* in native words, and consequently association of them with *katta(n)* was inevitable. Since they looked upon the Babylonian scribes as their masters, it was natural for them to suppress the nasal which tended to be assimilated to the following *t* in any case. No doubt the ordinary pronunciation continued to be *\*kanta(n)*.

If *katta(n)* corresponds to the IE. stem *\*komt* the stem *\*kmt* should appear in Hittite as *kunt* or *kutt*, and we actually find loc. *ku-ut-ti*, abl. *ku-ut-ta-az*, and acc. pl. *ku-ud-du-uš*. Sommer and Ehelolf (*BoSt.* 10. 4<sup>1</sup>) show that the word sometimes designates a 'wall,' but they admit (*ib.* 53) the possibility that we should rather understand the more general meaning 'side.' The latter force is required in *KBo.* 2. 4. 4. 22-23: *nu A.NA DU URUNe-ri-ik ku-wa-pí EZEN ITU.KAM DÜ-an-zi nu KAP-li ku-ut-ti hu-ki-eš-kán-zi*. 'When in honor of the storm god of Nerik they celebrate the festival of the month, they sing on the left side.'

We seem to have a derivative of *kutt* in *kuttar*, which sometimes has the determinative *UZU* and must therefore denote a part of the body. Friedrich (*ZA.*, *NF.* 2. 275) hesitatingly suggests the meanings 'shoulder, upper arm, muscle.' We can, then, plausibly connect *kutt-* and *kuttar*, if we assume a basic meaning 'hand, arm.'

We traced Greek *κατά* to a consonant-stem accusative *\*kmtm*, and we are at liberty to consider Hittite *katta(n)* also a consonant-stem accusative; for *an* is the regular accusative ending of the masc.-fem. consonant stems in that language. It is now clear, however, that this *an* is not the regular ante-consonantal development of the syllabic nasal. Either the consonant-stems

adopted the acc. ending *an* from the *o*-declension, or else *an* is the ante-vocalic development of the syllabic nasal.

I find the IE. stem *\*kom* (or possibly *\*km*) in the Hittite enclitic particle *-kan*. Although this word occurs with great frequency and particularly in the historical texts and treaties, of which our understanding is most nearly complete, its meaning has not hitherto been established. Apparently the reason why it has so long eluded us is that our modern idioms demand several apparently inconsistent translations.

In a large number of passages the particle seems to mean 'accordingly, therefore, consequently, so.' In order to save space I quote only in translation, omitting details that do not affect the point. The translation of *-kan* is in each case in italics.

*Hatt. 1. 18-21* (p. 8 Götze): Serving as priest I sacrificed to the goddess; and *therefore* at the hand of Ishtar, my Lady, I saw prosperity (?). And Ishtar, my Lady, took me by the hand, and *so* she controlled me.

*Ib. 3. 63-65* (p. 28): He tried to ruin me, and *accordingly* he took from me the cities Hakpissas and Nerikkas.

*KBo. 4. 12. 1. 5-11* (—Götze *Hatt. 40*): In the time of my father a serious illness befell me, a small child; and *therefore* my father put me into the hands of Middannamuwas, the chief scribe. *Accordingly* he recited a spell over me, and *so* he cured me of the disease.

*KBo. 6. 29. 1. 11-14* (—Götze, *Hatt. 46*): Ishtar of Samuhas, my Lady, gave me arms, gave me the favor of my father and of my brother. And *therefore*<sup>17</sup> from that time on I took refuge with the goddess.

*KBo. 5. 8. 1. 26 f.* (Tenner, *Ein Hethitischer Annalentext des Königs Mursilis II* p. 10): Kattitimuwas, however, was friendly to me. *Therefore* I marched through it, and attacked the country of Taggasta.

Particularly cogent are the examples in which *-kan* follows a causal conjunction.

<sup>17</sup> *am-mu-ug-ma-kan*, which Götze translates 'ich aber.' In this passage and many others it is impossible to translate *-ma* by English 'but' or 'however.' Its force is about that of Greek *δέ* and Latin *autem*, which can sometimes be rendered by English 'and,' and which must occasionally be omitted altogether in an English version.

*Ib.* 1. 23-25: Because they had heard of me, *therefore* I did not march by day.

*Ib.* 4. 13-15 (p. 16): Because<sup>18</sup> my booty had become bulky, *therefore* I did not march out from the camp.

Hatt. 3. 79 (p. 39 Götze): Because<sup>18</sup> he quarrelled with me, *therefore* the gods made him suffer defeat at my hands in the trial.

Sharply opposed to these passages are others in which *-kan* seems to point a contrast.

Hatt. 3. 69-71 (p. 28 Götze): You are a Great King, but *nevertheless* I am king of one fortress.

Hatt. 4. 24-26 (p. 32 Götze): Although she <Ishtar> never at any other time deserted Urhi-Tesupas, she *nevertheless* shut him up in Samuhas like a pig in a sty.

*Code* § 31 (Hrozný): If a free man and a slave woman are in love(?) and they have come together, and he takes her for his wife, and they build(?) a house and have children, and afterwards they *nevertheless* either begin to quarrel or separate(?) and divide the household. . . .

*Ib.* § 34 (Hr.): If a slave pays the dowry for a woman and takes her for his wife, *nevertheless* no one shall let her go.

It is not uncommon for a translator to find himself compelled to use such opposite renderings of one and the same word. We referred above (fn. 17) to Greek δέ and Latin *autem*. Another case in point is the use of Latin *idem* 'the same' to connect two different predicates to the same subject. Lane<sup>19</sup> says: 'It may be variously rendered by likewise, also, all the same, on the other hand, at once, very, nevertheless.' In such cases, of course, the word to be translated does not really mean either 'likewise' or 'nevertheless'; it merely calls attention to the fact that two predicates (or two sentences) stand side by side. Latin *vir doctus idemque prudens* means 'a man who is educated and likewise discreet,' and *vir indoctus idemque prudens* means 'a man who is uneducated and nevertheless discreet'; but *idem* itself means merely 'at the same time.'

<sup>18</sup> In these two passages and others *-kan* stands in the causal clause also. In Hatt. 3. 79 it may refer to the preceding sentence; but in all such sentences I suspect that the first *-kan* is correlative with the second. If so it can scarcely be translated into English.

<sup>19</sup> *A Latin Grammar*<sup>2</sup> § 2371.

Just so our Hittite particle *-kan* is often best translated 'therefore' or 'nevertheless,' but strictly it means 'under these circumstances, at the same time, in this way.' In many passages some such translation as this is necessary.

Papanikri 1. 17 (p. 2\* Sommer-Ehelolf): Inquire of the oracle what the omen <is which> befell you *under these circumstances* in the temple. (These are the words addressed by the priest to the *puerpera* after an ill-omened accident to the birth-chair in the temple.)

Hatt. 3. 63-64 (p. 20 Götze—A long list of provinces entrusted to Hattusilis by his brother has just been given): And whatever countries here (listed) my brother *thus* put into my hand. . . .

Code § III (p. 78 Hr.): If anyone kills a trader of Hatti for his goods, he shall give . . . and restore the goods three times over. [If], however, he has no goods with him and *under these circumstances* anyone kills him in anger. . . .

There is a very common formula in the treaties, in translating which Friedrich inserts 'so' where *-kan* stands in the text. He probably does not intend the word as a translation of *-kan*, but surely that is its force. One illustration will be enough.

Treaty with Duppi-Tesup § 13 (p. 18 Friedrich): . . . if any one of these captives shall escape from me, and he takes refuge with you, and you do not seize him and do not give him back to the king of Hatti, and you rather speak thus to him: ". . . go wherever you are going, and I shall not know (about) you"; *under these circumstances* you break the oath.

This, then, is the real meaning of the particle *-kan*. Its similarity to the meaning of *katta(n)* 'with, alongside' is apparent. The principal difference between the two is that *-kan* applies only to sentences or clauses as wholes, and emphasizes the coexistence of the proposition contained in its own sentence or clause with one or more propositions previously stated. It follows from this limitation that *-kan* cannot share in the meaning 'down' which belongs to *katta(n)*.

We have (p. 249) assigned one further meaning to *katta(n)*, namely 'afterwards.' This meaning was postulated by Friedrich (refs. above) for such passages as that in the treaty with

Duppi-Tesup 1. 25-26 (p. 12 Friedrich): *nu-za ma-a-an DUMU.UŠ i-ya-ši nu kat-ta I.NA KÚR URU A-mur-ri a-pa-a-š LUGAL-uš e-eš-du*, 'And if you have a son, *hereafter* in the land of Amurru he shall be king.' Friedrich admits the possibility in all passages of saying instead 'in the same way,' but he is inclined, correctly, I think, to stick to his original interpretation. At any rate it is sometimes necessary to translate *-kan* 'afterwards, thereupon' or the like. Just on the border between 'under these circumstances' and 'thereupon' is:

Pap. 2. 8-13 (p. 6\* Sommer and Ehelolf): At evening, however, they bring the god in. When they bring him to the door of the house, a second Hattili-priest puts on(?) his hat, and before the god pours out a libation. And *then at last* he takes the god from him.

In many passages the particle seems to do nothing more than mark chronological continuity; e. g.:

Pap. 4. 23-26 (p. 12\* Sommer and Ehelolf): When, however, they have reached the door of the *šinapši*-house, the sacrificer sits down; and *thereupon* the Hattili-priest takes the lamb from her, and *next* he puts it in a clean spot.

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Undoubtedly the new evidence adds considerably to the plausibility of the etymological conjectures with which we started. We have found independent testimony to the existence in PIE. of *\*de* 'two,' and of *\*komt*, *\*kmt* 'hand.' There is no longer room to doubt that case-forms of the latter stem gave rise to adverbs and prepositions meaning 'along side, together, with.' We have also found the shorter stem *\*kom* carrying a similar force. It is to be hoped that the identification of other Hittite numerals will make the proof complete.

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## ENGLISH *SPICK, SPECK, SPITCHCOCK, AND SPIKE.*

We would connect the English words numbered below with the Germanic adjectival stem *\*spika-*, *\*spikka-* 'split, stripped off, long and narrow, thin and pointed (like a splinter), lean, thin, and dry,' from a root meaning 'to split,' contained in the following words: ON. *spíkr* 'a spike,' *spík* 'a splinter or chip of wood, a narrow piece of wood,' Nor. *spík* 'a splinter, a spoke,' Sw. *spík* 'a spike,' Nor. *spíka* 'to split wood, to chip wood,' Sw. dial. *spíka* 'to split,' Dan. *spege* 'to salt and dry or smoke fish or flesh' (the fish are split open and the meat is usually sliced in strips), Nor. dial. *spíkjen* 'salted and smoked, dry, lean, thin,' Sw. *spícken* 'salted and smoked,' MLG. *spík* 'dry,' *spíkherink* 'salt herring,' LG. *spíkken* 'to salt and smoke,' Dan. dial. *spíkker* 'narrow, thin,' Sw. and Nor. dial. *spinke* 'a thin person,' Sw. *spínk* 'a splinter, chip, what is cut or shorn off,' *spínska* 'to cut in two'; closely allied to: Eng. *pike* 'a pick, spike, staff, peak, a fish,' *peak, pick*, ME. *píc, pic*, AS. *píc* 'a point, pointed instrument, pike,' ON. *pík* 'a prickle, thorn, peak'; Eng. *to pick*, AS. *pícan*, ON. *píkka* 'to pierce or hack with a pointed implement'; Eng. *to peck*, MLG. *pecken* 'to peck with the beak'; Eng. *pink* 'to pierce with a point,' AS. *pinca* 'a point,' Nor. dial. *pink* 'a peak,' WFlem. *pink* 'a point'; probably also to ON. *spætr*, OHG. *speht*, Ger. *specht*, MLG. *specht*, MDu., Du. *specht* 'woodpecker' (Eng. *speight* was borrowed from MLG. or MDu.), to which are perhaps related as to root Lat. *pícus* 'woodpecker,' *píca* 'magpie,' Skr. *píká* 'the Indian cuckoo'; and, with AS. *píc* 'a point,' *pícung* 'a pricking,' probably to Goth. *peika-bagms* 'palm tree.'

Germanic *\*spika-*, *\*spikka-* is, like Lith. *speigliai* 'thorns of a plant,' from an IE. stem *\*spíg-*, an extension of the root *\*spí-* 'to be pointed' in Lat. *spína* 'thorn,' *spíca* 'ear of grain, tuft of plants,' *spículum* 'a sharp point, arrow, spear,' OHG. *spenal* 'a pin,' Gr. *spilás* 'a reef, rock,' Lett. *spíle* 'a nail, pin, or fork of wood,' *spíkis* 'bayonet,' *spaiglis* 'a split stick for catching and holding crabs,' ON. *spíra* 'a stalk, stem, slender tree trunk,' AS. *spír* 'a tall and slender stalk,' Eng. *spire*, AS. *spitu* 'a spit,' Eng. *spit*, Ger. *spitz* 'pointed.'

1. English *speck* (1633,<sup>1</sup> apparently from Du. *spek* and Ger. *speck*), *spick* 'fat meat, blubber, the layer of fat lying between the muscular flesh and the skin of swine, whale, or hippopotamus,' ME. *spik*, *spyk*, *spiche*, AS. *spec*, *spic* 'bacon, lard, the fat flesh of swine': ON. *spik* 'fat of seals, whales, etc., blubber,' MLG. *speck* 'the fat lying outside the flesh of an animal' (whence Dan. *spek* 'blubber, lard'), Du. *spek*, OHG. *spec*, Ger. *speck* 'bacon, fat, blubber,' Du. *speksnijder*, *speksnijer* 'blubber-cutter, chief harpooner on a whaler' (whence Eng. *speckioneer*).

This group, sometimes abandoned in silence (*NED.*, Weekley) or with a "Herleitung unsicher" (Hoops) and sometimes connected (Kluge, Schrader, *Century*) with Gr. *píōn*, Skr. *pívan* 'fat, plump, swelling,' is now usually linked (Uhlenbeck, Falk-Torp, Franck-van Wijk) with Skr. *sphij-*, *sphigī* 'buttock, hip.' But neither the suffix nor the Sanskrit meaning appears at any time or place between Indo-Iranian and Germanic, and nowhere in Germanic is there any suggestion of buttock or hip: the idea is that of fat that is stripped, or flensed, from the back or side of a blubber-bearing animal, an idea that is perfectly paralleled in the English phrase, a *strip* of bacon, and in Eng. *flitch*, AS. *flicce*, ON. *flikki* 'a side of bacon,' Lith. *páltis* 'a side of bacon, flitch,' which belong to IE. *\*(s)p(h)e1-* 'to split,' Lith. *pleikti* 'to split open a fish.'

2. English *speck*, ME. *spekke* (c 1440), *spekk*; English *spetch*, *spech* (1611) 'a strip of undressed hide, a paring or piece of leather, a patch of leather or cloth'; English dial. *speck* 'the sole of a shoe.'

"Of obscure origin"—*NED.*

3. English dial. *speck* 'a long thin piece of iron nailed upon a plough to keep it from wearing'—*EDD.*

4. English *spitchcock*, *spechcock* (1597), *spitchcoke* (1601) 'an eel split lengthwise for broiling or frying,' from ME. *\*spiche*, *\*speche* + *coke*: the method of preparing large eels in the 17th century was to 'split-cook' them, as it is to-day.

*NED.* leaves the word "of obscure origin," but *NED.* fails to remark that from the beginning a spitchcock eel was an unusually

<sup>1</sup> The earliest date in *NED.*

large one, and fails to mention, even in the definitions and quotations, the essential feature of its preparation, the lengthwise splitting. On the other hand, *NED.* is quite justified in rejecting without mention the frequent derivation of the word from *spit* 'the cooking implement' + *cock* 'the bird,' on the ground that it "may have been originally a name for a fowl roasted on a spit, transferred fancifully to an eel split and broiled" (*Century*, followed by others).

5. English *spatchcock* 'a fowl split open, or in two, and broiled or grilled,' altered, perhaps by popular etymology, from *spitchcock*; English dial. *spatchcock* 'a person tied with his limbs extended, as for flogging.' For the semantic relation of these two words, compare the noun *spread eagle* in *NED.*: "A person secured with the arms and legs stretched out, especially in order to be flogged" and "A fowl flattened out for broiling."

The word *spatchcock* has usually been explained as abbreviation of a curious and undocumented *dispatch cock*, a derivation which Grose (1785) thus rationalizes: ". . . an Irish dish upon any sudden occasion. It is a hen just killed from the roost, or yard, and immediately skinned, split, and broiled." But except in this popular etymology the haste of preparation plays no rôle, whereas, just as in *spitchcock*, which is occasionally used as a variant of *spatchcock*, the splitting is the essential culinary feature. Likewise, to *spatchcock* a document is to interpolate (not add) unauthorized material, usually with emphasis on the fact that it is inserted between two component parts with which it is itself incongruous.

6. English *spick* (1611); *speek, speake* (1611); *spike* (1345-6); *spike-nail, spiknail* (1314-5); *spiker, spyker* (1574); *spiking* (14th cent.), *spyking* (1307-8), *spikyng* (1261), AS. *spicing* (c 1000) 'a large nail': MLG. *spiker*, MDu. *spiker*, Du. *spijker*, MHG. *spicher*, Ger. *speichernagel*, ON. *spíkr* 'a spike,' LG. dial. *spike* 'a wooden nail or peg,' ON. *spík* 'a splinter of wood, a chip,' Nor. *spík* 'a splinter,' Sw. *spik* 'a spike,' Nor. *spíka* 'to split wood, to chip wood.'

Although AS. *spicing* is certain in meaning and probable in form (see Toller, *Supplement*), it is not quoted by *NED.*, which considers this entire group of doubtful origin but permits the

inference that *spike* may be borrowed from Scandinavian, and *spike-nail*, *spiker*, and *spiking* from Low German. And indeed *spiker* is presumably from Middle Dutch, but there is no sufficient indication that any of the others are loan words. The form *spike* is traced by most etymologists from Middle English to Scandinavian, and by some further to Lat. *spīca*, but Falk-Torp, Franck-van Wijk, Weekley permit the assumption of a Germanic group independent of the Latin word, and Kluge, Walde, *New International* consider the English word cognate with ON. *spikr*, *spik*.

English *spike* 'an ear of grain (1393), a type of inflorescence (1578), lavender (1539), spikenard (1540)' is probably, but not necessarily, borrowed from Lat. *spīca* 'an ear of grain, the spike-shaped tuft of plants.'

English *spikenard* (c 1350) is borrowed from Late Lat. *spīca nardī*.

7. English *spick and span new* (1579-80) 'as new as a (new) nail and a (fresh) chip,' from Eng. *spick* 'nail' (1611), variant of *spike*, and *span new* (c 1300), from ON. *spān-nýr*, from *spānn* 'chip' and *nýr* 'new.'

Compare, partly for form and partly for meaning, Sw. dial. *spik-spångande ny*, Dan. *splinder spanken ny*, Nor. *spilder ny*, Du. *spikspelder-nieuw*, *spiksplinter-nieuw*, WFlem. *spikspankel-nieuw*, MHG. *spānniuwe*, Ger. *splitterneu*, *nagelneu*, *funkelnagelneu*, *spanneu*, *spannagelneu*.

8. English *spoke* (of a wheel), ME. *spoke*, *spake*, AS. *spāca*: OFris. *spēke*, MDu. *speke*, *speec*, Du. *speek*, OS. *spēka*, MLG. *spēke*, OHG. *speicha*, Ger. *speiche*.

According to *NED*. the ultimate origin of these words is uncertain, but almost indisputably they belong, in an ablaut relation, to our Germanic stem, and they are added here mainly as a part of the cumulative evidence that shows the continuation of that stem, with its variety of form and meaning, into Anglo-Saxon and English.

In view of that variety of meaning, the argument is not complete without semantic parallels, and it is not difficult to find, under the IE. root *\*(s)phel-*, *\*(s)pel-* 'to split,' examples for most, if not all, of the semantic developments advanced or accepted by this paper: Skr. *sphāṭayati* 'he splits,' OHG. *spaltan*

‘to split,’ Lith. *spāliai* ‘the shive of flax,’ Eng. *splint*, *splent* ‘a split piece of wood,’ Eng. *splinter*, Nor. dial. *splint* ‘a wooden nail, a wedge for fastening,’ Lat. *spolium* ‘the skin or hide stripped from an animal,’ Gr. *spolás* ‘a leather garment,’ MHG. *spelte* ‘a piece of wood split off,’ ON. *flis* ‘a splinter, chip,’ ON. *spolr* ‘a bar, rod, skewer,’ MHG. *spale* ‘rung of a ladder,’ Ger. dial. *spale*, *spal* ‘a wooden spit, wedge,’ Eng. *spale* ‘a splinter, chip, shaving, or stick of wood,’ Lith. *pleikti* ‘to split open a fish and spread it out,’ Lith. *páltis* ‘a side of bacon, flitch,’ ON. *flikki* ‘a side of bacon,’ AS. *flicce*, Eng. *flitch*.

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## ON APULEIUS' HERMAGORAS.

The lost work of Apuleius entitled *Hermagoras* is known only by the following fragments:

1. Visus est et adulescens honesta forma quasi ad nuptias exornatus trahere se in penitorem partem domus.<sup>1</sup>
2. Verum infirma scamillorum obice fultae fores.<sup>2</sup>
3. Aspera hiems erat, omnia ningue caneabant.<sup>3</sup>
4. Et cibatum, quem iucundum esse nobis animadverterant, eum adposiverunt.<sup>4</sup>
5. Pollincto eius funere domuitionem paramus.<sup>5</sup>
6. Priscian, G. L. K., Vol. II, p. 135, 17: 'saucio saucius,' 'scio scius' sic Apuleius in primo *Hermagorae* et Pacuvius in *Teucro*:

*Postquam defessus † perrogitando advenas  
De gnatis neque . . . quemquam invenit scium*

All that we can safely infer from this is that Apuleius used *scius* or a word of similar formation; it is unlikely that Priscian is citing the verses as from both authors.

The early editors of Apuleius supposed that the *Hermagoras* was a dialogue;<sup>6</sup> but in more recent times it has been generally

<sup>1</sup> Priscian, ed. Hertz in *G. L. K.*, vol. II, p. 85, l. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 111, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 279, 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 528, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Fulgentius, *Expos. Serm. Ant.*, p. 112, 10 (Helm). For *domuitionem parare* cf. *Met. X*, 18: *dispositis coemtisque omnibus domuitionem parabat*; *III*, 19; *IV*, 35; *XI*, 24 (*dom. comparo*); for *pollingo*, *Flor. 19*.

<sup>6</sup> So Wower (1606) in the Delphin edition, vol. I, p. 17: "Hermagoras Apuleii, Fulgentii et Prisciani mentione notus, cuius argumenti fuerit assequi non potui. Dialogi speciem prae se ferre videtur. Inscriptio a persona cui partes loquentis dederat. Tributus autem in plures Hermagoras, imitatione Platonis, ut ex locis a Prisciano citatis conjicere licet." Wower's opinion is approved by Scrivenerius (1624), by Bétolaud (*Oeuvres Complètes d'Apulée*, 1835), and by Hildebrand (1842). The fragments give no sure indication of more than one speaker, but if there were several speakers, which is a reasonable assumption, the fact would be no more indicative of a dialogue in the

regarded as a romance.<sup>7</sup> Schanz takes this point of view, and rightly I think, although he devotes only three lines to the subject apart from his references to the ancient citations. With similar brevity Teuffel and Schwabe declare that the *Hermagoras* was a romance, and probably of somewhat the same type as the *Metamorphoses*.<sup>8</sup> This is as much information on the subject as will be found in the handbooks and in the editions of Apuleius' works; but if we assume that the *Hermagoras* was a romance, there are some further inferences to be drawn from the fragments which, though conjectural, are nevertheless worth considering. In short, I suspect that the lost *Hermagoras* was very much like the *Satyricon* of Petronius. The scenes are suggestive of the same kind of surroundings (cf. nos. 1, 2, and 4); the book may have been written in a mixture of prose and verse (cf. no. 3); the narrative was evidently told in the first person (cf. nos. 4 and 5); and the principals are apparently two or more in number (cf. nos. 4 and 5), as in Petronius, and may have included a rhetorician, Hermagoras, analogous to Encolpius.

The name Hermagoras, which constitutes the title, was presumably that of the leading character; and since this name was well known in antiquity as belonging to several rhetoricians,<sup>9</sup> it may be reasonably inferred that Apuleius chose this name because he thought it appropriate to a protagonist whom he was representing as a professional rhetorician. That he should have chosen the name of a respected rhetorician as that of his pro-

technical sense than of a romance. On the other hand, the subject-matter of these fragments is certainly far more suggestive of a realistic narrative than of a Platonic dialogue; and so is the division into books.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Jahn in *Sitz-Ber. Gesell. Wiss. Leipzig*, 1850, p. 283: "man würde . . . vermuten dass es ein Roman gewesen sei, wie der goldene Esel"; and Schanz, *Röm. Lit.*<sup>3</sup> III, p. 126. For the content of the first reference, as well as for some timely criticism in my treatment of the verse (cf. *infra*) I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Tenney Frank.

<sup>8</sup> W. S. Teuffel, *Röm. Lit.*<sup>3</sup> III, p. 104 (6th ed. 1913, revised by Kroll and Skutsch) and Schwabe (1895) in Pauly-Wissowa s. v. *Apuleius*: "wohl ein Roman wie die *Metamorphosen*."

<sup>9</sup> See Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Hermagoras*. The most celebrated of the name was he of Temnos, who lived in the second century B. C.

tagonist is not surprising; for he has a certain romantic fondness for the famous names of the literary world which tends to overbalance the nicer feelings of propriety. This is shown in the *Metamorphoses*, where Plutarch and Sextus are enrolled in the family of Lucius, and where the author even identifies himself at times with the ass. Moreover, the name Hermagoras is especially appropriate to a work of this kind, since it is suggestive of the market-place and of low life (cf. Lucian, *Jup. Trag.* 33). In thus putting a realistic or burlesque narrative into the mouth of a rhetorician, Apuleius would be following the outstanding example of Petronius, whose work must have been the chief representative in Roman literature of this type of romance, and could scarcely have been unknown to him.<sup>10</sup> Petronius had made his romance serve as a framework for the insertion of all kinds of artistic digressions, and these were the more easily motivated owing to the literary character of the principal actor. Is it not likely, therefore, that Apuleius brought in his rhetorician for the same purpose? To his academic mind Hermagoras must have been almost synonymous with rhetoric and criticism; hence, we can scarcely doubt that if the protagonist in the lost work was named Hermagoras, Apuleius saw to it that he displayed his wares. Such is our author's irresistible tendency in the *Metamorphoses* where the occasions are obviously less favorable, and such was the example of his chief Roman predecessor in burlesque fiction. It is noteworthy that the protagonist in *Λούκιος ἡ Ὀνομασία* and in the *Metamorphoses* is also a literary man though for a different purpose, whereas in the sentimental romances this is never the case.

The autobiographical form of narrative as suggested by fragments 4 and 5 is also a distinctive feature of the burlesque romance. We find it in the *"Ovos* and its original as well as in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Satyricon*. On the other hand, the sentimental romances, which originated most probably as a demotic offshoot from history,<sup>11</sup> regularly employ the third person,

<sup>10</sup> For a list of parallel passages between Apuleius and Petronius see A. Collignon, *Étude sur Pétrone*, pp. 388-390. The list includes, however, a number of expressions which belong to the narrative and colloquial style generally, rather than to Petronius individually.

<sup>11</sup> For a brilliant exposition of this view see J. Ludvíkovský, *Řecký*

except in the latest of the ancient specimens, that of Achilles Tatius.

Fragments 2 and 3 are both printed by Hertz as if they were prose. The latter, however, appears to be dactylic, although the quantity of the first syllable of *cānebant* has to be treated as short. The presence of this verse, which is historical in character and may easily have fitted into the narrative, suggests that Apuleius had mingled prose and poetry in the *Hermaphoras* after the manner of Petronius in the *Satyricon*. Incidentally, fragment 2 also looks poetic and archaic (note the alliteration and iambic ending in *fultae fores*), although I am not ingenious enough to scan it as it stands. Possibly its form or content has been garbled, as is the case with several of Priscian's quotations from the Latin poets.<sup>12</sup>

The first fragment may be interpreted in one of two ways, according as we take *se* as referring to *adulescens* or to an indirect object implied by *visus est*. The latter alternative seems preferable and the sentence may be thus translated: "In her (his?) dream a young man of seemly appearance and dressed up as for a wedding seemed to be dragging her (him?) into the inner part of the house." In place of *et* a number of manuscripts read *ei* (see Hertz *ad. loc.*) which I prefer, although it is not essential to my interpretation. The dream used as a motivating device to forecast an event that actually happens is common in ancient romance and especially in Apuleius.<sup>13</sup>

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*Román Dobrodržný*, Prague, 1925. The book is graced with a twelve-page résumé in French at the end. L.'s theory is essentially a modification of Lavagnini's (cf. *A. J. P.* XLIV, 371 ff.), but with much less emphasis upon local myths as the starting point, and with keener insight into the nature of the literary tradition.

<sup>12</sup> See the quotation from Juvenal VI, 260 in vol. II, p. 112; those from Terence, *ibid.* pp. 315; 400, 22; 402, 1; from Plautus, 265; 266, 15.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Met.* IV, 27, VIII, 9, IX, 31, XI, 3, 20, 22, 29, 30, 31; Petronius 104.

## DRAVIDIAN 1 AND 2.

The root-forms of these numerals are represented by the adjectives *or* (1) and *ir* (2) in Kanara; Tamil has *oru*, *iru*, and both languages have *ōr*, *īr*, used before words beginning with a vowel.<sup>1</sup> The Kanara nouns are *orvan*, *orban*, *obba(nu)* m., *orval*, *orbal*, *obbalu* f., *irvar*, *irbar*, *ibbaru* m.f., *ondu*, *eradu* n. The Tamil nouns are *oruvan*, *oruttan* m., *orutti* f., *iruvar* m.f., *ondru*, *iran̄du* n. The *v*-suffixes are the same as those of demonstrative pronouns, *-an* < \**san*, *-al* < \**sal*, *-ar* < \**har*, with *v* < *w* as a hiatus-filler. The Kanara nouns imply \**oru* and \**iru*, or \**oro* and \**iro*, as older basic forms; for if the suffixes had been added directly to the roots *or* and *ir*, the *v* would not have been inserted. The suffix of *oruttan* resembles *tān* (self), but it is probably based on the feminine *tt*-suffix. Apparently *-tti* came from Aryan *strī* (woman), perhaps thru the Prâkrit form *itthī* or *thī*.

Kanara *ondu* is derived from \**ondru*, *r* being lost as in *handi* and earlier *pandi* beside Tamil *pandri* (swine). A similar change is seen in modern *obbanu* and *ibbaru*, beside the older forms with radical *r*. In Caldwell's Comparative Grammar (1875, reprinted 1913), Tamil *ondru* is described as a nasalized variant of *oru*. This is merely a statement of the apparent form-relation; it fails to explain anything. Probably *ondru* is derived from \**orun̄du*, a compound of the root or the basic form and *un̄du* (there is). Tamil *un̄du* has no inflection; the Kanara equivalent is *un̄tu*, apparently a contraction of \**un̄dutu*, with the regular ending of the neuter singular. The development of \**orun̄du* must have been earlier than the distinction of nouns and adjectives. Early Dravidian agreed with most of the modern languages in requiring a vowel to follow the reverted lingual *ɖ*. In the development *ondru* < \**orun̄du* < \**orun̄du* the unusual group *n̄dr* was replaced by the nearest similar group, *ndr*.

<sup>1</sup> Arden, Tamil Grammar, ch. 4 (Madras, 1910); Kittel, Kannada Dictionary (Mangalore, 1894); Kittel, Kannada Grammar, ch. 15 (Mangalore, 1903); Pope, Tamil Handbook, § 172 (Oxford, 1911); Vinson, Manuel de la langue tamoule, § 37 (o misprinted as ī—Paris, 1903); Wickremasinghe, Tamil Grammar, § 19 (London, 1906).

In his Comparative Grammar Caldwell says that Tamil *irattu* (double) implies *\*iradu* as an older form of *iran̄du*. This theory is evidently wrong. In Tamil an occlusive following a nasal is regularly voiced; a voiceless occlusive replaces a nasal before a voiceless sound that remains such, and a double occlusive is always voiceless. Tamil *tt* can represent ancient *tt*, or *dd*, or *ntt*, or *ndd*. Corresponding to Kanara *kāñis-* < *\*kāñic-* < *\*kāñit-* < *\*kāñitt-*, the causative of *kāñ-* (see, appear), Tamil has *kātt-* (show) < *\*kāñt̄t-* < *\*kāñitt-*, the causative of *kāñ-* (see, appear): Kanara *s* is the regular derivative of the palatal occlusive *c* between vowels; and *c* may replace *t* after *i* in southern Dravidian.<sup>2</sup> Tamil *iran̄du* has equivalents with *ṇḍ* in Gōndi, Kui, Kurukh, Malto and Telugu, showing that the nasal is ancient. Thus the *tt* of *irattu* may be assumed to represent *ndd*. Similarly Tamil has the adjective *ittrai* for *\*inndrai* from *indru* (today), which is composed of the demonstrative *i* and a stressless form of *nāl* (day); and *ottrai* (single) for *\*onndrai* from *ondru*.

In early Dravidian the first vowel of a simple word was strest. The force of the voice weakens as it progresses from the beginning of a strest vowel. Thus in Tamil *aindu* (five), *pāmbu* (snake), *irundu* (having been), the nasals are weaker than those of *nambikkai* (trust), *pandri* (swine), *vandu* (having come), because they are further from the point of greatest force. The weak nasals are lost and the strong ones are kept in the Kanara forms of these words: *aidu*, *pāvū*, *irdu*, *nambike*, *pandi*, *bandu*. Kanara *irdu* < *\*irudu* < *\*irundu* and *eradu* < *\*iran̄du* show a normal loss of weak nasals. In the compound *\*orundu*, or rather the sentence *\*or* *\*uṇdu*, the *u* was strest, and therefore the strong nasal was kept. After *\*irundu* had changed to *\*irudu*, Kanara developt *\*oruṇdu* as a single word with strest *o*, and both words lost weak *u*. The openness of *a* makes it more sonorous than any other vowel: hence it was kept in *eradu*, while *\*irudu* lost *u*, just as Catalan has *mala* < *mala* beside *mal* < *malum* and *mal* < *male*.

Apparently Dravidian *iran̄du* (couple) was formed from *\*iruṇdu* (there are two) under the influence of Prākrit *danda* or Sanskrit *dwandwa* (couple). Caldwell mentions Singhalese

<sup>2</sup> A. J. Ph., vol. 38, p. 315.

*iruṇṭata* (double), without perceiving what it implies. It is based on Tamil *\*iruṇṭu* < *\*iruṇḍu*, which became *iratṭu* in accord with the change of *\*iruṇḍu* to *iruṇḍu*. Kodagu or Coorg, spoken in Coorg near the Tulu region, has *dandē* (2).<sup>3</sup> The *ē* (= *e* in *bakery*) may have come from *u*, like that of *wondē* = Kanara *ondu*; the initial *d* indicates strong Aryan influence and seems to prove that Kodagu was formerly spoken in a region much further north.

Tulu is in contact with Kanara, but is not closely related to Kanara-Tamil; it represents a separate division, perhaps formerly spoken in the central region between Kanara and Gôndi or Kui. Tulu has the nouns *wori* m., *worti* f., *irver* m.f., *wondži*, *raddē* n., and uses the neuter forms as adjectives.<sup>4</sup> The change of *dr* to *dž* seems to depend on a following *i*, which may correspond to Kanara-Tamil *u*: *wondži* < *\*ondri*, *mūdži* = Tamil *mūndru* (3). The use of *\*iruṇḍu* as the first member of a compound (like our *day* in *daylight*) caused it to become an adjective, and the resultant weakening of stress allowed the initial vowel to disappear in Tulu and other languages. Expressions like 'ox-pair' and 'pair-ox' are equally possible for 'two oxen' in Dravidian, altho the first word is always the adjective-equivalent, as in English compounds. Tulu *raddē* is an extension of *\*rad*, a stressless form of *\*eraḍu* or *\*iraḍu*, the weak nasal being lost as in Kanara. The same extension is seen in Tulu *kanṇē* for *\*kan* = Tamil *kan* (eye), with a single root-nasal as in Malto *xanu* (eye) and in Tulu *kananīr* (eye-water, tears).

Early Kanara and Telugu have, beside the ordinary *r*-symbol, a letter representing what is called harsh or strong *r*, here transcribed *R*. In the modern languages it is replaced by the ordinary *r*. The ancient sound cannot have been merely a strong trill, since *R* may be doubled, as in the old spelling of Telugu *gurramu* (horse).<sup>5</sup> Many languages distinguish simple *r* and a strong trill, but a further distinction of a doubly strong *r* cannot reasonably be assumed. In early Kanara the sound *R* might

<sup>3</sup> Burnell, Specimen of Kodagu (Mangalore, 1873); Cole, Coorg Grammar (Bangalore, 1867).

<sup>4</sup> Brigel, Tuļu Grammar (Mangalore, 1872).

<sup>5</sup> Arden, Telugu Grammar, § 44 (Madras, 1921).

end a word: *basiR* = Tamil *vajidru* (belly). This shows that it was a simple sound; consonant-groups could not end a word in early Kanara, and double consonants were always simplified at the end of a word. Evidently *R* was voiceless *r*.

Telugu is spoken in the region between Kanara-Tamil and the northern languages (except Brâhui). A closer connection with Kurukh-Malto than with Gôndi or Kui is apparently implied by *n* < *zn* and *t* < *sn* in Telugu, beside *n* derived from both groups in Kanara-Tamil, *t* from both in Kurukh-Malto, *s* from both in Kui, *h* from both in Gôndi.<sup>6</sup> Modern Telugu has the adjectives *oka* (1), *rendu* (2), and the nouns *okadu* m., *okate* f., *okați* n., *iddaru* m.f., *rendu* n. A variant of *oka* is *vaka*; the *ir*-basis is represented in *iruvai* (20), and *innūru* (200) with *nn* < *rn*. The development of *rendu* from *\*iranđdu* has a parallel in Telugu *nēđu* (today) beside *i nāđu* (this day). Caldwell is evidently right in assuming that *iddaru* contains the *ir*-basis, but he fails to discuss its second element. The older form is *iddaRu*,<sup>7</sup> with an ending unlike that of early Telugu *iruguru* or *iruvuru* = Tamil *iruvar*. As *sr* became *ss* in Prâkrit, we might assume a Prâkrit form *\*dassō* f. (two persons), representing the *dwa*-basis combined with the suffix of Prâkrit *cadassō*,<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit *catasras* f. (4) and *tisras* f. (3). Telugu has lost ancient *s*; Aryan *\*dassō*, borrowed before Telugu developed a new *s* from *c*, would be adopted with *R*, which resembled *s* more closely than any other Telugu sound. In Telugu, as in the other Dravidian tongues that have three genders, masculine and feminine are the same in the plural; thus *\*dassō* (f.) made Telugu *\*daRo* or *\*daRu* (m.f.). This form was later combined with the *ir*-basis, making *\*irdaRu* and *iddaRu*.

According to Arden, early Telugu has the forms *okāđu*, *okōđu*, *okarūđu*, *okorūđu*, *okaruvūđu*, *oruvūđu*, *orūđu*, *oňđu*, *ođđu*, and variants of the *k*-forms with *kk*.<sup>9</sup> He fails to discuss the gender of these forms; apparently those with nasalized vowels are masculine. The *ok*-basis and the *or*-basis are combined in *okor*,

<sup>6</sup> A. J. Ph., vol. 40, p. 84; vol. 42, p. 265; vol. 44, p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> Arden, Telugu Grammar, § 780.

<sup>8</sup> Pischel, Grammatik der Prâkrit-Sprachen, § 439 (Strassburg, 1900).

<sup>9</sup> Arden, Telugu Grammar, § 779.

*okar-*. Perhaps *ondu* and *oddu* are derived from *\*orundi* thru *\*orndu*. Telugu *undu* is a participle of the verb *und-* (be).<sup>10</sup>

Brâhui has the adjectives *asi* (1), *irā* (2), and the nouns *asit*, *irat*. The formal identity of Tamil *iranđu* and Brâhui *irat* is shown by southern *undu* beside Brâhui *uṭ* (am). The *ā* of *irā* may be of Aryan origin, connected with Vedic *ā* in *dwā*. The *t* of *asit* evidently came from *irat*. The form *asi* corresponds to Tulu *wondži*, in which the *w* is a mere hiatus-filling addition, developt after words ending in a vowel.<sup>11</sup> The same change of *dž* to *s* is seen in Brâhui *musi* = Kui *mundži*, Tulu *mūdži* (3). Brâhui has no short *o*.<sup>12</sup> It has changed ancient short *e* and short *o* to *a*, perhaps under the influence of Aryan. Thus Brâhui *xal-* (strike) is probably an alteration of *\*kol-* = Tamil *kol-* (kill), altho a root-form *\*kwel* may be implied by Tulu *ker-* (kill). A derivative of the Aryan *dwa*-basis is perhaps to be found in Brâhui *tōmā* (both).

Gôndi has the cardinals *undi* (1) and *rand* (2); the distributives *ōkō* and *rahk*; and the nouns *vōrul* and *irur*.<sup>13</sup> We may assume *undi* < *\*ondri*, with *r* lost as in Gôndi *mund* = Kanara *mūRu*, Tamil *mündru* (3). The final vowel of *undi* agrees with those of Gôndi *allī* = Tamil *eli* (rat) and *pullī* = Tamil *puli* (tiger). The *or*-basis seems to be found not only in *vōrul*, but also in *ōkōrē*, a variant of *ōkō*, and in *varrō* (alone). The *k* of *rahk* and of higher distributives is perhaps the common plural-ending of Gôndi nouns, *-k* = Tamil *-gal*. The *h* of *rahk* may be analogic, taken from the distributive *muhk*. If *\*mutro* was the basis of Dravidian 3, Gôndi may have developt a form resembling Kanara *mūRu*, as well as the nasalized variant corresponding to the Tamil form. Gôndi *nāhk*, the plural of *nār* (village), cognate with Tamil *nāđu* (land, place, region), shows a change of *r* thru *R* (voiceless *r*) and *s* to *h*. Likewise *muhk* could have come from *\*muRk*, and produced analogic *h* in *rahk*. A variant of *undi* is *uṇđi*,<sup>14</sup> with *ṇđ* probably due to the influence of *rand*.

<sup>10</sup> Arden, Telugu Grammar, § 820.

<sup>11</sup> A. J. Ph., vol. 40, p. 78.

<sup>12</sup> Bray, Brahui Grammar, § 3 (Calcutta, 1909).

<sup>13</sup> Trench, Gondi Grammar, § 97 (Madras, 1919).

<sup>14</sup> Linguistic Survey of India, vol. 4, p. 480.

The sound-displacements of Kui *ro* (1) and *ri* (2) are a regular feature of the language, as in *kriu* (ear) for *\*krui* = Gôndi *kavī* < *\*krwi*, and *mrāu* (daughter) for *\*miāru* = Brâhui *masir*, Gôndi *miār* < *\*masir*. The nouns *ronḍi* and *rindi* show an extension of the ending of 2 to 1, parallel with the Brâhui development.

Kurukh has *ort* m.f., *ond* n., and *irbar* m.f., *end* n., corresponding in form to Tamil *oruttan*, *ondru*, *iruvar*, *irandu*. In connection with *ortos*, the definite form of *ort*, and *ās* (he) < *\*asan*, *ār* (they) < *\*ahar*, Kurukh has developed *irb* as an indefinite form beside definite *irbar* < *\*iruhar*. Apparently *end* represents *\*erṇdu* < *\*erāndu*, with *e* for *i* before *a* as in Kanara *eradu*.

Malto has, in addition to *ort*, *ond*, *ivrer*, *ivr*, closely related to the Kurukh equivalents, some remarkable forms of 2: *is*, *ivres*, *ivris*. I would explain *is* as a Tibeto-Burman loan-word, connected with Tibetan *gñis* (2), which has become *ñi* in modern speech.<sup>15</sup> The forms *ivres* and *ivris* are composed of Dravidian 2 and the foren equivalent. Even more remarkable are Malto *ēṇdond* (1) and *ēṇdis* (2). The first element of these is evidently the same as Kurukh *end* (2), so that *ēṇdis* is parallel with *ivris*. But in Malto the meaning of *ēṇd* was forgotten, and the use of *ēṇdis* beside foren *is* produced *ēṇdond* as a variant of *ond*. It is noteworthy that Tibetan has a single prefix in *gcig* (1), *gñis* (2), *gsum* (3); altho now lost in spoken Tibetan, the prefix was formerly sounded, as it still is in the dialect of Sz-chuan called Jiarung, which has *ktig*, *kniś*, *ksam*.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Hannah, Tibetan Grammar, § 26 (Calcutta, 1912).

<sup>16</sup> Laufer, Bird divination among the Tibetans, p. 107 (Leide, 1914: *extrait du T'oung-pao*, vol. 15).

## CAN GRANDE AND CATULLUS.

Ellis in his essay on "Catullus in the Fourteenth Century" gives a list of conjectures dating from Scaliger's time on the meaning of Benvenuto's couplets written before 1323 regarding the recovery of the Verona Ms. of Catullus. I shall here propose that the person referred to is Can Grande della Scala, the dictator of Verona, Benvenuto's patron. The couplets as given in the MSS G and R<sup>1</sup> read thus:

Ad patriam uenio longis a finibus exul,  
Causa mei reditus compatriota fuit.  
Scilicet a calamis tribuit cui Francia nomen,  
Quique notat turbae praetereuntis iter.  
Quo licet ingenio uestrum celebrate Catullum,  
Cuius sub modio clausa papyrus erat.

Line 2 is clearly a statement that a citizen of Verona caused the return of the manuscript. Lines 3 and 4 purport to give the name. Can Grande<sup>2</sup> was born in 1291, came to power in 1311 and died in 1329. His full name seems to have been Francesco Can Grande (or Cane Grande, Latin, *Canis Magnus*) della Scala. The dog was later used upon the Scaliger coat-of-arms and both the uncle and the nephew of Can Grande were named Mastino, so that there can be little doubt about the derivation of the name. However it was considered proper by courtiers to find a more respectable meaning for the name. Joseph Scaliger<sup>3</sup> for instance agrees with Jovius that the name is not connected with "illo latranti animali." He derives it from Cahan (= Caganus and Khan), the "title of Wendish kings," and Dante apparently connected it with the Oriental title of *Khan* when in his famous letter<sup>4</sup> he addresses his patron *Kani Grandi*. In my opinion the pedantic Benvenuto de Campesani

<sup>1</sup> See Chatelain, Plate XV, for the end of the *San Germanensis*.

<sup>2</sup> Spangenberg, *Cangrande I della Scala*, 1892.

<sup>3</sup> J. J. Scaligeri *Epistola*, 17, may be found in Graevius, Tome 29.

<sup>4</sup> Epistle X, written about 1318. The *Gran Kan* was then well known from the accounts of the travels of Marco Polo which appeared about 1300.

reveals the same eagerness to flatter. Since the name Francesco suggests a French origin of the family, he derives the name from French. A reference to Godefroy and supplement will show that *cane* (derived from *canna*—*calamus*) was then a common French word. The third line, therefore, means that the person in question bore a name which in French meant the same as *calamus*, a reed. That explanation, with equal pedantry, is carried out in the fourth line, which is probably meant to recall the statement in Pliny *N. H.* VI, 166, to the effect that the caravan-route from Pelusium towards Palestine (well-known in the days of Benvenuto because of the crusades) was marked by reeds—*calami*. That is of course far-fetched, but will not seem strange to those who remember Pliny's popularity at the time, and who know the fourteenth-century authors and their fondness for revealing abstruse knowledge.

If Can Grande was instrumental in bringing the Ms. to light the date should be between 1311, his accession to power at the age of twenty, and 1321, the date of Hieremias' death. Perhaps with this limitation some scholar may offer a plausible suggestion as to whence the manuscript came. As Ellis has said Paduans seem to have had access to the Ms. Albertini Mussato<sup>5</sup> of Padua, who certainly knew Catullus<sup>6</sup> before 1314, acted as Paduan envoy to Can Grande in 1311, and was a prisoner of his for a month in 1314. Can Grande did not actually get possession of Padua till 1328, but he defeated the Paduans more than once and repeatedly procured booty in his victories. I should even be willing to suppose that Mussato, who apparently did not appreciate Catullus, might have informed Can Grande about the copy which he had used. Can Grande, who gave hospitality and financial aid to Giotto and Dante, may well have been interested to hear of the ancient Veronese poet.

I would venture the suggestion that Mussato probably had access to Catullus at home before the Ms. went to Verona, my reasons being 1) that Mussato was not a persona grata at Ver-

<sup>5</sup> His histories and his poems may be found in Graevius, Tome XIV. Wicksteed, Dante and G. di Virgilio, 1902, has a convenient chapter on Mussato.

<sup>6</sup> Ellis, Catullus in the Fourteenth Century, p. 12. Among Mussato's reminiscences of Catullus, Ellis might have added *Dicere si fas est* from Epistola 14.

ona who would visit there for pleasure, 2) that Mussato's quotations are in part quite early: the elegy to his academy (*Epistola I*) was apparently written in December 1314, while the poems written with Lovato and Bovatino (Ellis, loc. cit. pp. 9 and 13) must fall before 1301, when the latter died. Poem 16 of that group seems, as Ellis says, to betray a knowledge of Catullus. Finally Hieremias <sup>7</sup> da Montagnone, who was a judge at Padua, seems to have had access to Catullus before 1311. It is therefore probable that the manuscript was at Padua before it went to Verona and that Can Grande somehow secured it for Verona about 1311-1314. Benzo of Alexandria <sup>8</sup> seems to have seen the book before he became Can Grande's secretary, probably in his travels before 1315. He visited Verona on those travels,<sup>9</sup> but does not mention Padua. His citation is apparently the first one made from the book at Verona. When we notice that Benzo is accused of having carried off the Verona copy of Ausonius, and that only Benzo's friend, Pastrengicus, and the friend of the latter, Petrarch, seem to have made use of Catullus during the next half century we can only be surprised that Catullus survived at all. Whether or not the Ms. remained at Verona during that period, it certainly was there in 1375 when the parent of G and R was copied, as the reference to Can Signorio proves.

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<sup>7</sup> See Ullman, in C. P. 1910, 66 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See Hale, Benzo of Alexandria and Catullus, C. P. 1910, 56 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Sabbadini, Bencius Alexandrinus, Rh. Mus. 1908, 224 ff.

## REPORTS.

### HERMES, LXI (1926).

Ammonios Sakkas und der Ursprung des Neuplatonismus (1-27). F. Heinemann criticizes Zeller's negative attitude toward Nemesius and Hierocles as sources for the doctrines of Ammonius. Following v. Arnim he considers chs. 2 and 3 of Nemesius' *Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου* to be based on notes taken at lectures by Ammonius. Further, a comparison of Phot. Bibl. c. 251 p. 416 b 6 ff., with c. 214 p. 172 a 22 ff., shows that Hierocles, too, was giving the views of Ammonius. Finally the above passages agree with the philosophy of Plotinus in its first stage. In this light we see that Ammonius sought a new principle, which was to harmonize the antagonistic schools of philosophy, and so, influenced probably by Jewish-Christian thought, he developed the conception of a supreme, invisible being, a god, a king, whose will is forever creating and dominating all.

Zum Culex (28-48). A. Klotz shows that a large number of passages of the Culex are imitations of parallel passages in Vergil and Ovid; especially Culex 281 imitates Ovid Met. II 360. The poet, with his dedication to Octavius, evidently published it as a work of Vergil's youth, which explains its general acceptance as genuine. Klotz also discusses indications of a Greek model.

Zu Senecas Apocolocyntosis (49-78). R. Heinze discusses the text and interpretation of a number of passages in this satire which, he thinks, call for a different interpretation from that given by Otto Weinreich in his book, *Senecas Apocolocyntosis* (Berlin 1923).

Occentare ostium bei Plautus (79-86). G. L. Hendrickson shows that this phrase reproduces the Greek *κωμάζειν ἐπὶ θύρας*, and has the same range of meaning: a serenade in Curculio 145; a noisy demonstration of drunken gallants in Persa 569; both serenading and ruder forms of favor on the part of drunken admirers in Mercator 406 ff. The phrase has no suggestion of magic incantation as occentare has in the XII Tables, according to recent investigators who reject Cicero's and Festus' interpretation of it as being equivalent to *convicium facere* (cf. Rh. Mus. LVI [1900] 1-28).

Die *ἱερὰ συγγραφή* von Delos (87-109). E. Ziebarth discusses the fragments of this inscription, which reveals the details concerning the leasing and renting of temple property (farms and houses), and especially the procedure, in the case of non-payment

of dues, against lessees, renters and their sureties; also the methods of ensuring the work of contractors. It is comparable to the Attic *νόμος ὅσπερ κεῖται τῶν τεμενῶν* (Syll.<sup>3</sup> 93).

Miscellen: A. B. Drachmann (110) emends Plato Rep. VII p. 517 a to read: *λαβεῖν καὶ ἀποκτεινάναι ἀν.* Some word like *οἴει* is to be understood.—J. Mussehl (111-112) emends pap. Oxy. III 471, ll. 72-77, *μον[ον] το σι* to *μόνον ον*; and ll. 59-62 *δα·ειν* to *δασείν* (= *δασέων* cf. Mayser Gram. d. gr. Pap. 72 f.). The *έραστῶν* δ. were bearded lovers.

Die Panegyris der Athena Ilias (113-133). E. Preuner is able almost to complete the famous inscription from Bunarbaschi, which, as Boeckh correctly surmised (CIG 3601), describes a festival celebrated by the inhabitants of Ilium and neighboring towns. Not only has an important fragment been found in Ilium itself, but the inscription telling of a *πανήγυρις* in honor of Athena (IGR IV 197) clearly belongs to it, which fixes the date at 77 B. C. The author shows that this festival was an imitation of the Panathenaia at Athens and that it was probably instituted at Ilium about 306 B. C. Numerous other matters, also, are discussed.

Euripides oder Menander (134-156). A. Körte gives an entertaining account of the much-discussed papyrus Didot (cf. Wilcken, Urk. d. Ptolemäerzeit I, 3). It contains the speech of a young woman that pleads with her father, who desires to separate her from her husband (who has become poor) in order to remarry her to a rich man. The possibility of such a high-handed procedure appears from Dem. XLI, 3. A detailed examination of the meter, vocabulary and content shows a close agreement with the style of Menander. Hence the superscribed *Εὐριπίδου* must be explained as a slip on the part of the writer, who, probably, wrote the 44 lines from memory. The speech cannot have belonged to the Epitrepones, as Robertson has suggested (Class. Review XXXVI, 106 ff.).

Hesiodstudien zur Theogonie (157-191). F. Jacoby makes a beginning, he thinks, of discovering the original form of Hesiod's Theogony, which is obscured by an expansion that began as early as the VI century B. C. He makes it plausible that, following the proem, the Theogony began with verses 116, 117, 120, an example of the favorite triad, which regularly closes with a descriptive phrase. Eros is included as one of the cosmic gods; verses 121-122 are a later expansion in agreement with the interpolation of the birth of Aphrodite (188-206). The article deals with the extensive Hesiadic literature, with which he is at variance.

Zum Briefwechsel des Plinius mit Trajan (192-207). O.

Cuntz finds passages that have a bearing on the preparations Trajan was making for his great military expedition against the Parthians. With this war in view, Amisus, the western terminus of the caravan trade in this region, was raised to the dignity of a foederata civitas, and for the same reason Pliny was sent to govern Bithynia. (2) The Anniam mentioned in Pliny LXV should be Andaniam. (3) In letter XXIII he emends: *Itaque <tamiae> aestiman<t> novum fieri <debere or oportere>*.

Plato und Aristipp (208-230). A. Mauersberger subjects the Philebus to a careful study in conjunction with passages in the Nic. Ethics of Aristotle, showing that Zeller's attempt to reconstruct the ethics of the Cyrenaics out of the Philebus was mistaken.

Miscellen: W. Morel (231-235) interprets vv. 86 ff. of the new fragment of Hesiod (cf. Rzach 1908 or 1913 ed., frgm. 96). It is the lion that bears three cubs in the third year (cf. Arist. de gen. anim. p. 750 a 32, etc.). The word *ἄτριχος* characterizes the beardless female. He supplies *ἡμαρ* before *ἀλυσκάζων* from Apol. Rh., who imitated this passage (Arg. IV 1503 ff.). In turn, the awkward repetition of *ἔραξε* in Arg. III 1396 is remedied by supplying *χαρᾶξε* from this Hes. frgm. 86 ff. He shows also that the Varro frgm., cited in Baehrens' Frgm. P. R. p. 336, belongs to Varro's Argonautae, as it was a translation of Apol. Rh. Arg. III 664.—R. Holland (235-237) shows (1) that the legend of the pious brothers of Catana, who saved their father during an eruption of Mt. Aetna (cf. Lycurg in Leocr. 95 ff.), was already known to Ctesias (cf. Ind. 8 ff.). (2) He proposes *καίπ<ε>ρ οὐσγ <πετρησση>* in Ctesias Ind. ch. 10, and (3) emends *ἄφλεκτοι το ἀμφίφλεκτοι* (= Lat. ambustus) in Ctesias Ind. ch. 8.—O. Weinreich (237-239) substitutes now for his citation of *τί σὺ θεὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους* from Herondas 1, 9 as a parallel to quid di ad homines in Seneca's Apocolocyntosis ch. 13, 2, *τί θεοὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους* from Suidas s. v. *Σαλούστιος φιλόσοφος*. Neither does Sen. Ap. 6, 3 depend on Herondas 3, 75. Seneca depended, especially in ch. 3, on current sayings among the Cynic philosophers. These comments correct Heinze's notes (see above).—E. Preuner (239-240) considers the evidence that proves that the *'Αχιλλεὺς Θερσιτοκτόνος* of Chaeremon was a tragedy (cf. Capps T. A. P. A. 31 pp. 136 ff.)—Paul Maas (240) gives v. 832 in Eur. Iph. Taur. to Iphigenia.

Die Liste der Thalassokratien in der Chronik des Eusebius (241-262). R. Helm reconstructs Eusebius' list of the seventeen sea-ruling states and the respective years of their domination with the aid of Diodorus (VII, 11), Syncellus, the Armenian version and Jerome. He explains the divergences between the Armenian version and Jerome, and considers the latter, in

some respects, more reliable. He also illustrates with a table, what, he thinks, was the form of Eusebius' Chronology.

Ein unverstandener Witz bei Varro R. R. II 5, 5 (263-276). F. Münzer cites the passages reporting the prodigium *bovem locutum* (cf. Livy XXXV 21, 2-5) and shows that Hirrium in the Varro passage should read Hirrum, whose faulty pronunciation Cicero ridicules (Fam. II 10, 1). Accordingly he proposes (l. c.): et hunc (i. e. bovem) planius locutum esse latine quam Hirrum praetorem. Hirrus failed to secure the praetorship.

Lesefrüchte (277-303). U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff continues his miscellanies with numbers CCIII-CCXVII. In CCVII he discusses the fragments of Sophocles' *Ποιμένες*, and gives in CCVIII an interesting analysis of the Rhesus, which depended on the *Ποιμένες*, and was composed by an inferior poet about 360 B. C. In CCXIV he analyzes Tristia, Book I, which Ovid completed before he reached Tomi; its title might be "Reise in die Verbannung." Tristia II and III made up a second book, which might have the title: Das erste Jahr in Tomi.

Plato und Aristipp (304-328). A. Mauersberger shows, as above in the case of the Philebus, that the supposed references to the Cyrenaics in Plato do not exist: Rep. 505 B and 580 D ff., Protag. 351 ff., 354 C, Theaet. 152 D, 156 A-157 B, and, finally, Hippias maior 298 A ff. The elimination of Plato as a source for the doctrines of the Cyrenaic hedonists enhances the value of the positive evidence, the fragments of which M. is going to publish.

Hippokrates, des Thessalos Sohn (329-334). M. Wellmann makes it probable that Aristotle's pupil Menon, in compiling the opinions of physicians in his history of medicine, made extracts of a treatise written by a grandson of the great Hippocrates, which began: 'Ιπποκράτος τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ περὶ φυσῶν καὶ αἴματος ἐπίδεξις ἡδε; but in the course of transmission τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ was omitted, which explains the error of Soranus, the author of the papyrus Londinensis 137 (cf. Hermes XXVIII p. 407 ff. and A. J. P. XLV 78-79), in attributing the treatise to Hippocrates.

Peripatos und Peripatetiker (335-342). A. Busse reviews the ancient sources dealing with these terms, and shows that to walk while discussing philosophical questions was a general practice (cf. Plato's Protagoras). This resulted in the application of the word *περιπατεῖν* exclusively to philosophical discussions; it was not distinctive of Aristotle's practice. Aristotle, like Plato, also lectured to larger groups. Suidas (s. v. *Ἀριστοτέλης*) correctly says that the philosophy, called Peripatetic, was named διὰ τὸ ἐν περιπάτῳ ἥποι κίπω διδάξαι. A building called

Peripatos is mentioned in Theophrastus' will, which explains the phrase: *οἱ ἀπὸ (ἐκ) τοῦ Περιπάτου*. However, the briefer term *Περιπατητκοί*, becoming more usual, gave currency to the idea that ambulatory discourses were peculiar to Aristotle.

Miscellen: S. Luria (343-348) points out the contradiction between the new fragments of the sophist Antiphon, which are decidedly anarchistic, and the frgm. 61 (Diels): *ἀναρχίας δ' οὐδὲν κάκιον ἀνθρώποις*. Fragments 60 and 61 (Diels) should be assigned to Antiphon the orator. Moreover, the *Πολιτικός* fragments, now located under the name of the sophist, belonged to the introduction of the orator's *'Αλκιβιάδον λοιδορία*.—D. S. Robertson (348-350) maintains his attribution of the Menander rhesis to the Epitrepentes against Körte (see above).—A. Körte (350-351), in a Nachtrag, declares himself unconvinced. He adds a note on *Εὐριπίδης σποδρεγάτης*, which follows the rhesis, after an open space, in a different hand. It should be *σπουδεργάτης*. It was written by the boy Apollonius, who has been identified, and meant "Euripides is a brave workman."—L. Sadée (352) proposes *τάνερος* in Soph. Ajax 222; the article is necessary, as in 220 and 228.—O. Cuntz (352) withdraws the evidence of the *'Αμυσοῦ ἐλευθέρας* type of coins as corroborating the conclusion of the foedus shortly before the Parthian war, as Th. Reinach informs him that this type occurred as early as 97-98 A. D. (see above).

Die Sprache Heraklits (353-381). B. Snell interprets the language of Heraclitus to show that his philosophy has been misunderstood, owing to Aristotle's classifying him with those who sought an *ἀρχή* from which the external world was evolved. Heraclitus used words to express the impression that the world about him made upon him, not as a logical observer of an external world, but as one who, believing in an all-embracing unity, tries to find words that in a metaphysical sense describe the varying aspects, especially the alternating opposites, such as: day and night, life and death, summer and winter, as phases of a single principle, which he calls *Logos*, from the sphere of thought, or fire, as a physical conception, which, however, is not to be understood as a form of matter, or a process. He nowhere uses the words *κίνησις*, *πύκνωσις* etc.; the phrase *πάντα ῥεῖ* was coined by the Heracliteans, who constantly paraphrased his words in the sense of motion.

Zu der siebenten Ekloge Virgils (382-388). W. Baehrens analyzes the verses of Corydon and Thyrsis to show that from an ethical standpoint—Vergil's personal view-point—Corydon deserved to win.

T. Pomponius Atticus und die Verbreitung von Ciceros Werk-

en (389-422). R. Sommer shows the limited extent of the book-trade in the time of Cicero, which at best offered small gains; and, in particular, that Atticus was not a professional publisher. What he did was to help circulate Cicero's works among friends and acquaintances. Birt and others have given an exaggerated picture of the activities of book-dealers, and erred in representing Atticus as a publisher on a large scale, all of which is mainly based on the correspondence between Cicero and Atticus. The relation between the two was one of friendship, not that of author and publisher in the modern sense.

**Πρόκνη** (423-436.) O. Schroeder discusses the intricate myth of Procre and Philomela. The older 'Milesian' version is a fable telling how a mother came to kill her own child, a story rooted in the Oriental sacrifice of children. Later, especially in the Attic version, a sister is added. The swallow, the original *κυρκήλατος*, was of prime importance in the development of the myth. Sophocles called her *Φλομήλη*; but **Πρόκνη** was also, long before Sophocles gave this name to the mother of Itys, the name of the swallow.

**Diotima von Mantinea** (437-447). W. Kranz analyzes her speech in Plato's Symposium, which has been admired by modern psychologists. Diotima was probably an historical character; but the speech is wholly imaginary.

**Ein neues lateinisches Grabgedicht** (448-458). L. Wickert interprets the much-discussed elegiac poem in fourteen verses, which was published in the *Notizie degli scavi* XX 1923 pp. 357 ff.

**Programm und Festzug der groszen Dionysien** (459-464). E. Bethe interprets the following passage in the law of Euegoros (Dem. ag. Meidias 10): *τοῖς ἐν ἀστει Διονυσίοις ἡ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς <καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες> καὶ ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί*. The *πομπή* refers to the yearly escorting of the statue of *Διόνυσος Ἐλευθερεύς* by night from the Academy to his sanctuary south of the Acropolis (cf. Paus. I, 29, 2; IG II<sup>2</sup> 1011, 1006). The following day the choruses of boys and men take place, whereupon follows the great event of the *κῶμος*, which is succeeded by the comedies and, finally, by the tragedies. The *κῶμος* was a pageant that marched through the orchestra; it consisted of a 'float' representing a ship carrying the statue of the god, or, perhaps, the priest representing the god, accompanied by Sileni, and followed by bulls, trumpeters, canephoroi, etc., also phallophori from the colonies, the tribute money and war orphans (cf. Isocr. *Περὶ εἰρήνης* 82).

**Miscellen:** A. Wilhelm (465-467) emends Appian *Συριακή*

ch. 1 ἐς ταχεῖαν ἐπιτειχίσματος *⟨οἰκοδομήν⟩* (cf. Livy XXXIII, 10), and Dion of Prusa Διογένης ἡ περὶ οἰκετῶν § 14 p. 300 R: *ἐάν τις* *⟨κερμάτιον⟩* ἀποδῷ κίβδηλον.—J. Morr (467-470) shows Xenophon's interest in the writings of Gorgias, especially his references to the Palamedes (cf. Symp. II, 26; Apolog. 26 ff., and Mem. IV, 2, 33). He uses the words *ὑμνοί*, *ὑμνεῖν* of prose writings (cf. Thuc. II 42; Plato rep. V 463 D).—E. Preuner (470-474) discusses and emends the inscription which names the recipients of the honor of the *σίτησις* in the Prytaneum (cf. R. Schöll in A.J.P. 10, 254).—M. Wellmann (474-475) ascribes the Democritus passage cited by Clemens, Strom. 1, 15, 69 to Bolus of Mendes.—F. Hiller von Gaertringen (476-477) discusses the Rhodian inscription containing the list of priests of Apollo Erethimius (cf. Hermes XXIX, 16 ff.).

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REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE, L (1926), 1 and 2.

Pp. 5-12. W. H. Buckler, C. I. G. 3459: Essai de restitution. The author submits a correction of this inscription, which was discovered by the younger Peyssonnel at Sardis on the fragment of a pillar and published in 1765. The corrections and additions are in conformity with other inscriptions of the second century P. C. and the probabilities of error in transcription are taken into account from the known methods of the transcriber. While not claiming a perfect restoration, Dr. Buckler would make clearer the form and meaning of the primitive text.

Pp. 13-33. Franz Cumont, Le sage Bothros ou le phylarque Arétas? A study as to the origin and authorship of a letter on the medicinal properties of diverse portions of the vulture. It seems, concludes M. Cumont, that Arétas, 'phylarque des Arabes Scénites,' wrote a letter to the emperor Claudius on the curative properties of birds; that even if the name Arétas be a fiction, the writing itself goes back to the beginning of our era and expresses Arabian beliefs in the curative virtues of birds, particularly of the vulture; that this writing is connected in some way with the sources of similar passages in Pliny; that we have here a document of the ancient Semitic zoolatry; that the recipes of Pliny and others are often in accord with the beliefs of ancient forgotten cults and that the medicine of magic is a museum of religious fossils. The letter of Lévi della Vida in the April number should be read with this article.

Pp. 34-37. L.-A. Constans, Observations sur deux manuscrits de César. These two mss. (L, Louaniensis, and N, Neapolitanus)

M. Constans finds frequently in accord, yet contends that neither is copied from the other but that both come from a common archetype of excellent origin, marred by errors of transcription and by poor corrections.

Pp. 38-45. F. Butavand, Des fragments de l'Odyssée dans le texte étrusque de la momie d'Agram: I La numération étrusque et le texte d'Agram. The author, by means of the probable interpretation of numbers on dice and tomb stones, concludes, on examining the numbers heading the chapters of the Etruscan text on the wrappings of the mummy of Agram, that the text is a translation of a portion of the *Odyssey*. The frequency of the words for Neptune or sea and for goddess, he thinks, confirms this view as also the belief that Odysseus was a popular hero among the Etruscans and that his adventures and those of the Egyptian soul after death are parallel.

Pp. 46-66. Maurice Holleaux, La politique romaine en Grèce et dans l'Orient hellénistique au III<sup>e</sup> siècle. Réponse à M. Th. Walek. A rejoinder to the two articles by M. Walek in last year's *Revue de Philologie* (pp. 28-54 and 118-142). The main portion of this first installment is taken up with a discussion of the first Illyrian War and its outcome. M. Holleaux ably defends his contention that the Romans were not actuated by a secret imperial policy in their intervention in Illyria and the Orient but did what in their position any government jealous of its dignity would have done.

Pp. 66. Louis Robert, Note sur Diodore, XVIII, 56, 3. In this passage M. Robert would correct the traditional text by emending *τιμῶντες* to *τηροῦντες*.

Pp. 67-96. Bernard Haussoullier, Inscriptions de Didymes. Comptes de la construction du Didymeion. A continuation of the paper on the same subject in last year's Review. In this article, which is embellished with a photographic cut, the author considers the final fragments of the expense-account of the construction of the Didymeion. Mention is made among other things of the expenditures made for the stonecutters and the quarrymen, the keep of the slaves and wages of the workers, the matter of transportation of material; lexicographical notes are added; and finally the work on the temple itself is considered.

Pp. 97-100. Bernard Haussoullier, Inscription de Ténos. The author calls attention to an interesting inscription from Tenos published in 1917 in the *Revue archéologique* by M. Paul Graindor. H. gives the text and translation of M. Graindor, modifies Graindor's restorations in three places, and gives a text and translation of his own.

Pp. 101-102. Albert Grenier, *Tibulle, Élégies*, I, 7, v. 11: *Saône et Rhône ou: Adour et Dordogne?* The author finds a geographical and historical incongruity in the mention of the Saône and Rhône in Messala's campaign in Aquitaine and thinks with Hirschfeld that the suggestion of Scaliger, 'Atur Duranusque,' is more satisfactory than the accepted reading.

Pp. 103-109. E. Cavaignac, *Sur l'économie de l'histoire de Polybe d'après Tite Live: livres XIX et XX.* Referring to Kopenberg's attempt to reconstitute the 30th book of Polybius, the author cites Livy as the essential basis of such an undertaking since he offers a continuous narrative and worked too rapidly to mar the order of his model, the relative position of whose surviving fragments is often doubtful and of secondary value from the point of view of general construction where one must turn to Livy. Then follow statistics as to the proportion of chapters in Livy to pages in Polybius and the proportionate space allotted to Eastern, Western and Greek affairs. Lastly the author pertinently points to the difficulty inherent in such a chronological and geographical scheme when the historian deals with events that involve all these sections simultaneously.

Pp. 110-111. J. Marouzeau, *L'exemple joint au précepte.* Citing two passages in Boileau where the poet enforces a given rule by its application, M. Marouzeau quotes similar passages from Horace, Quintilian and Cicero and then raises the question, if we have here a method which each author of precepts has reached independently or a custom of rhetorical schools whose tradition Boileau revived.

Pp. 113-120. E. Chatelain, *Bernard Haussoullier.* A sympathetic and comprehensive tribute to the life and achievements of Bernard Haussoullier, by whose death the *Revue de Philologie* has lost an able editor and the world of classic studies an outstanding man and a splendid scholar. The sketch includes a list of the books and contributions of Haussoullier, "whose work is considerable and whose well-filled life is an example for others."

Pp. 121-124. E. Chatelain, *Le cinquantenaire de la Revue de Philologie.* M. Chatelain's brief historical sketch of the *Revue de Philologie*, the story of its successful struggle for existence, the enumeration of its famous editors and contributors, the charm of its liberal policy—"Lorsqu'on invite des amis à dîner, ne faut-il pas les laisser manger à leur goût?"—all this provides most interesting reading for the friends of the Review.

Pp. 125-152. Bernard Haussoullier, *Inscriptions de Didymes. Comptes de la construction du Didymeion.* In this final paper we have the consideration of the supervision of accounts, the

cost of a column and various other items, and lastly three expense-accounts of Philodemus, Badromius and Phaedo, discovered in 1896, 1907, and 1896 respectively. These important papers close with the author's remarks on a projected definitive work by French and German scholars, in the preparation of which Haussoullier was to have taken a prominent part, and for which the present series of articles were intended to serve as preparatory studies and scaffolding. The execution of the work was frustrated by the Great War, and H. passed away without witnessing the achievement of the task.

Pp. 153-172. Ed. Galletier, *A propos du Catalepton et des œuvres attribuées à la jeunesse de Virgile*. A discussion of the views of Jérôme Carcopino, a sceptic as to the complete Vergilian authorship of the Catalepton, whose argument the author reduces to three propositions:

1. The Priapea and the Epigrams form a unity, which, in conformity with the mss., must retain the title Catalepton.
2. This collection appeared between 86 and 96 A. D. and is dated particularly by poems 13 and 15.
3. It is the work of a forger who amused himself by making a book after the manner of Vergil to deceive his contemporaries and posterity.

Finding each of these propositions unconvincing, the author suggests an hypothesis to account for the minor Vergilian poems on the analogy of the *Corpus Tibullianum*.

Pp. 173-186. F. Butavand, *Des fragments de l'Odyssée dans le texte étrusque de la momie d'Agram. II: Les fragments à termes numériques*. In continuation of the author's previous article this is an examination of the fragments of the text of the mummy of Agram with reference to their numerical terms. This text is a collection of portions of the *Odyssey*, notably of the eleventh and twenty-fourth books. A further installment and a conclusion are to follow.

Pp. 187-193. W. Deonna, *Les "poèmes figurés."* A consideration of the question, "Whence comes the idea of the pattern poems"? The author does not believe that the arrangement of the letters in the Alexandrian "pattern poems" is due to the form of the object on which they are written, but to an instinctive and universal process, ancient and modern, European and Oriental with but one aim—to sum up by a figure the sense of the written text and to give to it a graphic transposition.

P. 193. E. Chatelain, *Temere tribraque*. A note on the quantity of the final syllable of *temere*, which some lexicons still mark long in spite of the researches in 1836 of Louis Quicherat.

Pp. 194-218. Maurice Holleaux, *La politique romaine en Grèce et dans l'Orient hellénistique au III<sup>e</sup> siècle*. The second installment of M. Holleaux's rejoinder. The author discusses among other matters the defection of Demetrius of Pharos, the second Illyrian War, the first Macedonian War, Philip's hesitation and treaty with Hannibal and his operations in Illyria, the conduct of the Romans toward the Greeks in the war and their inaction in 207-205.

Pp. 219-237. René Waltz, *Ego et nos*. An interesting and suggestive analysis of Latin prose and verse, especially to one translating Latin. Under the rubric "Psychological Uses" M. Waltz groups (a) The plural of dignity, (b) of modesty, (c) of emotion. He classifies plurals of aesthetic usage as (a) those for euphony, (b) those for variety, (c) those by attraction. At times *nos* and *ego* are synonyms. For different values of *nos* we have (a) the equivalent of singular, (b) the equivalent of dual, (c) the plural representing a group, (d) the plural representing mankind. In short, the usage is a matter of logic, tact, taste, and good sense rather than of grammar.

Pp. 238. Georges Mathieu, *Le myrte des Tyrannicides*. A criticism of the interpretation of the words *ἐν μύρτου κλαδί* in the skolion on Harmodius and Aristogeiton, as meaning "crowned with myrtle." Citing archaeological evidence and Aristophanes (*Lysistrata* 632-3), and noting that for Athenians the myrtle was rather for the hand than the head, the author concludes that the ancients did conceive Harmodius and Aristogeiton as concealing their swords in the bough of myrtle.

Pp. 244-246. G. Lévi della Vida, *L'origine orientale de la Lettre sur le vautour*. A letter to M. Cumont apropos of his article, page 13 of this year's Review, in connection with which it should be read.

P. 247. L. Laurand, *Une phrase du Pro Murena* (9, 22). M. Laurand cites from Polybius a passage that parallels Cicero's "Te gallorum, illum bucinarum cantus exsuscitat," and suggests that the idea, once set in circulation, would be likely to occur in many writers.

Pp. 248-259. *Bulletin bibliographique*.

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## REVIEWS.

*Syntaxe Latine: d'après les principes de la grammaire historique*, par O. RIEMANN. Septième édition, revue par A. Ernout, Professeur à la Sorbonne, Directeur d'Études à l'École Pratique des Hautes-Études. (Nouvelle Collection à l'Usage des Classes, xi.) Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1927. Pp. xvi + 698. Bound in cloth; 36 francs.

The first edition of this manual appeared in 1886. The author himself revised it for a second edition. After his death, Paul Lejay was entrusted with the revision, and prepared the next four editions, from 1894 on. By request of the family of the original author, additions and changes have been marked, so far as possible, by square brackets and by initials; but the changes made for the third edition are not marked, since such discrimination was not started until the fourth. Upon the death of Lejay, the work passed into the competent hands of Alfred Ernout, who has prepared the present, seventh, edition; his careful activity is seen in a wealth of additions marked by his initials.

The original treatise was practically only a descriptive one, based on the works of Cicero, Caesar, and Livy. It has been the task of Lejay and Ernout to extend the field of the work to the Latin authors of all periods, and to represent the syntactical usages in their historical perspective. To do this, while keeping the plan laid out by the first author, has been no easy task. It has been necessary to modify it fundamentally at many points; perhaps the greatest variation was made in the third edition.

No student of Latin and no scholar in Latin can peruse this volume, or selected parts of it, without pleasure and profit: pleasure in the brilliant Gallic clarity with which the exposition is made, profit from the multitude of keen observations, both general and special. We need not feel wonder then that this volume has had a remarkable share in the training of Latin students in France in the last half-century, nor that it has now gone into its seventh edition. And we may feel gratification that in a selected bibliography of 33 items (pp. xiv-xvi), the names of four American scholars appear: C. E. Bennett, C. D. Buck, W. G. Hale, G. M. Lane.

That such a work as this and Ernout's *Morphologie Historique du Latin* (reviewed on pp. 92-93 of the present volume) may appear in completely new editions in France, compels us to reflect upon the difference of conditions in this country. Works which are financially profitable, if in the linguistic field, rarely if ever

go beyond a second revised edition; those which are not self-supporting, have a hard road to even a first edition. As compared with French scholars, we have to contend with higher costs of composition, press-work, and binding, with publishers less inclined to support scholarly undertakings, and with a smaller clientele of purchasers; perhaps even with smaller opportunity to secure subsidy for such works. It is a situation which we ought to seek to remedy, for the sake of scholarship in the United States; and meantime we can but congratulate the scholars of France on their greater opportunities to publish the fruits of their studies.

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Epicurus: The Extant Remains with Short Critical Apparatus, Translation and Notes. By CYRIL BAILEY. New York, Oxford Press, American Branch, 1926. Pp. 432.

This work on Epicurus by the editor and translator of Lucretius will be gladly welcomed by all students of the genial philosopher. It consists of an edition of the Greek text of the three letters to Herodotus, Pythocles, and Menoeceus, of the *Kύπται Δόξαι*, the fragments, and the life of Epicurus, with an English translation and a commentary of some length (pp. 173-422). A bibliography (incomplete and quite inadequate) and a (Greek) "index of the principal terms" are added.

As regards the text, it is to be observed that in quantity it offers both more and less than the title would lead one to expect. The life of Epicurus by Diogenes Laertius, which is included, hardly belongs to the "extant remains"; on the other hand those fragments only are given which are handed down in the original Greek, while the many others quoted, *e. g.* by Seneca, in Latin, are excluded, not to mention much other matter, often of capital importance, which reports Epicurean doctrine certainly derived from the founder of the school, for which the student will continue to recur to Usener's *Epicurea*. As a critical edition of the matter which the editor has chosen to include, the text with the brief apparatus will be especially welcome because of its conservatism; but I am sure that Mr. BAILEY would have been less conservative if his study of the critical literature had been more comprehensive. The chief value of the book lies in his commentary, which gives ample evidence of good common sense. I do not mean to express agreement with all his conclusions; for there are many points at which I cannot accept his text and the interpretation of it given in the translation and commentary. Rather I mean that he has not lost himself in

subtleties. One has the feeling that Mr. BAILEY has a juster sense of Latin than of Greek idiom, particularly the idiom of late Greek philosophy. But to argue this point would lead one into great detail.

The student who wishes to go into disputed questions relating to Epicurus will still have to take account, first of all, of Usener's text and then of Von der Muehll's (in the Teubner series). The latter's apparatus is fuller, and many conjectures there recorded, though hardly to be accepted, point out where serious students have found difficulties, which Mr. BAILEY often fails to appreciate. Bignone's translation and notes seem to me to be a more important contribution to the subject. Of Kochalsky's "Das Leben und die Lehre Epikurs" I cannot speak with commendation, though it also has some suggestions of value. It is frequently the case that an article of no great general excellence contains here and there a contribution of importance. The translation of Mr. BAILEY is good, as one familiar with his *Lucretius* would expect; but for the main body of the text (*i. e.* exclusive of the fragments) one may now compare the translations of Ernout, and of Otto Apelt and R. D. Hicks in their respective versions of Diogenes Laertius.

Of critical judgments by the editor only one seems to be of importance for the general student. Mr. BAILEY holds with Usener and many others that the letter to Pythocles is not genuine, and argues well in support of his view, though he has not convinced me.

The book is beautifully printed with so few typographical errors that I have failed to find one that is at all disturbing.

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The Cambridge Ancient History. Edited by J. B. BURY, S. A. COOK, F. E. ADCOCK. Volume V. Athens, 478-401 B. C. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1927. Price \$7.00.

This volume is devoted to the history of Greece from 478-401 B. C. Athens is the most important state in this period and the rise and fall of her Empire forms the central theme and gives unity to the volume.

In the first Chapter Mr. Tod gives a brief but excellent account of the economic background of the age. This is the first occasion in which the editors have given any special attention to economic problems, and it is to be hoped that this precedent will be followed in the later volumes of the series. Some idea of the commercial activity of Athens may be gained from the fact that Attica produced grain for about a fourth of her popu-

lation. Great industrial development was therefore necessary to provide for the import of sufficient food for over two hundred thousand people. The problem of ensuring a constant supply of cheap grain (about two million bushels annually) gives a key to the explanation of Athenian foreign policy in Macedonia, the Euxine, Egypt and Sicily.

In Chapters II-IV Mr. Walker deals with the difficult problems of the *pentecontaetia* down to 445 B. C., in which period the most important theme is the conversion of the Delian Confederacy into the Athenian Empire. These chapters are supplemented in the Appendix by notes on disputed points where the evidence is judicially discussed. Sicily in the fifth century forms the subject of Mr. Hackforth's theme in Chapter VI. The intervention of Athens in the affairs of Magna Graecia as early as 445 B. C. in an endeavour to check the dominant and growing power of Dorian Syracuse is a prelude to the fatal adventure of the Sicilian Expedition. Mr. Adcock takes up the history of Athens from the Thirty Years' Peace to the end of the Archidamian war (Chapters VII-VIII). The policies of the leading Greek states prior to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War are sketched with great clearness and sound judgment. The causes of the war are conservatively stated and its early history to the Peace of Nicias is vividly told. The importance of sea power is well illustrated in the strategy of the war. The greater mobility of the navy enabled Athens to control her vast empire, to carry on campaigns in the north, northwest Greece, and even to interfere in Sicily. Corinth was ruined by the effective blockade of her ports and by the loss of most of her dependencies. The net result of the Archidamian War may be said to be a victory for Athens. In Chapters IX-XII Professor Ferguson completes the story of the Peloponnesian War. The intricate cross-currents of the foreign policies of the individualistic city-states following the Peace of Nicias are analyzed with great skill. The Sicilian expedition and the long-drawn struggle which resulted in the downfall of the Athenian Empire are vividly described. Particularly important is the author's treatment of the constitutional changes in Athenian government during this period and in the reconstruction following the war.

The Periclean Age is the high-water mark in the development of ancient culture. In this volume the editors have devoted considerable space to this phase of Greek civilization. In Chapter V Mr. Sheppard discusses the Attic Drama. He has not attempted a critical history of the origins of tragedy or comedy, nor has he described the method of producing a play. Instead he has given a literary interpretation of specified plays and

some explanation of dramatic technique. Professor Bury (in Chapter XII) traces briefly the rise of the Sophists and describes with greater fulness the life and teaching of Socrates. Mr. Macan gives an able discussion of Herodotus and Thucydides (Chapter XIV). In the last Chapter (XV) Mr. Beazley sketches the development of Greek Art and Architecture in this period.

Good maps enable the reader to follow the narrative more easily. An excellent bibliography is provided for each chapter and there is a full index. Both in plan and execution this volume is admirable. Too high praise cannot be given to the sound scholarship displayed on every page.

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A History of the Ancient World. By M. ROSTOVZEFF. Translated from the Russian by J. D. Duff. Two volumes. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York. Price \$5.00 each.

In six hundred pages Professor ROSTOVZEFF gives a survey of ancient civilization from the fourth millennium B. C. to the fall of Rome. In such brief compass the treatment of the facts of political history is necessarily much restricted. For these the reader must go to other hand-books cited in the bibliography. The chief value and interest in these two volumes lie in their interpretation of the social and economic history of the Mediterranean world. More than two hundred excellent plates and figures supplement the text and illustrate the importance of archaeology as an aid to historical study. The interpretation of these plates by the author adds greatly to their value.

In the first volume two introductory chapters deal with the aim of history and the problems and importance of the study of ancient civilization. In the next hundred pages the author sketches the history of the kingdoms of the Near East to the end of the second millennium. As a background to the civilizations of the Western Mediterranean, the economic and cultural life of the Nile and Euphrates valleys is particularly important, and these phases of Oriental civilization have been clearly traced. Of especial worth is the keen interpretation of the art of the people—notably in the Aegean—as an expression of their natural characteristics.

The remainder of the first volume is given to the history of Greece. The early period of neolithic and the earlier Helladic

culture, which has been made known by the researches of Blegen, Wace, and others, is omitted and the narrative begins with the Mycenean age on the mainland. One chapter each is devoted to Anatolian Greece and to Sparta. As for the rest Athens holds the stage until the rise of Macedon. Alexander's conquests and the history of the Hellenistic kingdoms until the coming of Rome are briefly sketched. The failure of the Greek states in achieving enduring world-empire is ascribed to democracy. However, it should be noted that oligarchic Sparta and the royal kingdoms of the Diadochi failed as dismally as Athens. The democracy of the city-state is not solely to blame, and if we credit to it the marvellous cultural achievements of Athens, the legacy of democratic Greece to civilization is greater than that of aristocratic Rome.

The survey of the economic history of Greece given by the author is especially interesting and contains much that is new. Some criticism of minor points may be offered. Colonial settlements were not always due to commercial expansion (p. 201). Primitive methods of agriculture must have exhausted the thin soil of many districts in Greece early in history, and the surplus population either devoted their attention to industrial development or went forth to find new homes in the more fertile lands of the East and West. In some cases the cities fostered the colonial movement in order to relieve the homeland of a landless and discontented proletariat. While the colonies developed trade with the mother country, the trading post as a colonial foundation arose only after the state had developed industries beyond the needs of the regular markets. Some account should be taken of deforestation and soil erosion as an agricultural factor in the mountainous lands of Greece. The author claims (p. 220) that Solon forbade the export of grain in order to protect the small farmer. If, however, the market of the producer was limited, his profit must have been curtailed, and this legislation could have served no one but the consumer. Finally, we may question whether the cities in Anatolian Greece welcomed their return to Persia by the Peace of Antalcidas (p. 312). Whatever trading advantages they may have gained were outweighed by the heavy tribute and oppressive rule of their former masters. There is no evidence of a rise in their prosperity during the fourth century, and they certainly welcomed the coming of Alexander, who once more gave them political freedom. The study of the economic conditions of the Hellenistic Age should be supplemented by some interesting observations on this topic to be found in the author's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Chapter I).

The second volume is devoted entirely to Rome. Here again the attention of the reader is directed more particularly to social

and economic history. Some of the theories may be briefly examined here. Professor ROSTOVTEFF states that the third Punic war was due to the influence of the landlords of Italy, who formed the wine and oil trusts and who were jealous of the competition of Carthage in these products. They desired to destroy Carthage and to limit Tunisia to cereal culture. To prove this theory it would be necessary to show that Carthage was competing with Italy in her most important markets—Spain and Gaul. The former of these countries was controlled absolutely by Rome, and Massilia, an old enemy of Carthage and a firm ally of Rome, controlled the imports of Gaul. In neither case could Carthaginian competition have been a serious factor, or if it had been, it could have been easily controlled without resort to war. After the destruction of Carthage, it is highly improbable that the Roman landlords destroyed the more profitable vineyards and olive-groves to plant grain. In fact, the fines imposed by Caesar on African towns show that the olive was still widely cultivated in that district. In the first volume (p. 320) the author states that the factory system never developed in Greece, but in the second volume (p. 301) its origin is ascribed to Athens and other Hellenistic towns, whence it is said to have been introduced into Italy in the first century B. C. Here it developed rapidly but declined steadily in the second century of the Christian era. While the small shop attained great perfection in art and technique in Greece, the author ascribes to the change from the factory to the small shop the regression of artistic merit in the Roman Empire. Evidently the shop or factory plays no particular part in the decadence of artistic tastes. The explanation must be sought elsewhere. The decline in cultural standards of the wealthy consumer is probably to blame, but it still remains to determine the causes of this decline.

In agriculture the change from slave labor to tenantry on great estates does not necessarily imply poorer farming. Slave labor is notoriously inefficient, and tenants on a more or less hereditary lease should be better. Such a system on English estates, though the vicious features of the Roman system are lacking, is thoroughly efficient. To the reviewer it seems that the author should take account in Rome as well as in Greece of the exhaustion of the soil. This was not the sole cause of the decline of agriculture and it need not be universally applied in all parts of the empire, but heavy taxation undoubtedly forced the farmers to exploit their lands to the uttermost.

In an economic survey of the Roman Empire some account should be taken of the steady depreciation of money. This factor played a part in the freedom of trade, in the system of taxation, and in the development of imperial and municipal liturgies.

Incidentally the heavy burdens placed upon the municipalities in the form of liturgies were an important element in the causes of the decline of the Empire. The introduction of a regressive system of taxation by Diocletian should also be mentioned in its bearing upon agriculture and general economic decline.

The theory of the cause of the anarchy in the third century is that given in the author's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. My criticism of this explanation has already been published in the *Yale Review* (1927). I do not believe that there is any evidence for a class struggle between the proletariat of the country districts and the bourgeoisie of the towns. Certainly there is no warrant for the author's statement that the extant petitions of villagers in this period complain of the exactions of municipal magistrates. These petitions are all directed against the misdeeds of imperial agents only.

Two of the greatest contributions made by Rome to the modern world are her law and her political institutions. Of these the former is barely mentioned while the latter subject is treated inadequately and sometimes inaccurately. The author frequently refers to the popular assembly without distinguishing between the centuriate and tribal organizations. The number of centuries is given as 198 instead of 193 (p. 31). The statement is made that the plebeian tribal assembly was fused with the assembly by centuries (p. 91) and that a mixed form of popular assembly was created out of the two earlier bodies about the end of the third century. Possibly the author is thinking of the reform of the centuriate assembly, but there was no fusion of the two political organizations at this time, and the *comitia tributa* existed until much later. It is not clear whether or not the author believes in the separate existence of the *comitia tributa* and the *concilium plebis*. On p. 51 he is apparently describing the former, but the statement of its functions is neither clear nor accurate. The ratification of treaties of peace was sometimes brought before this body and the plebeian aediles were elected in the same organization as the tribunes. The Senate of the early Republic is said not to exceed 600 (p. 52). This is true but misleading, as the membership did not exceed 300 at this time. The right of appeal, the recognition of the inviolability of the tribunes, and their power of veto, are incorrectly stated as if originated by the Licinian-Sextian laws in 367 (p. 33). The Romans are said to have begun to use the political 'strike' in 287, whereas this date marks the end, not the beginning, of the use of this weapon. On p. 31 we read that the constitution of the centuriate assembly forced the old patrician families to resign their political supremacy, but later on (p. 47) they are said to retain their direction of public affairs.

for two centuries more. After 367 all ex-magistrates are said to become members of the Senate on completion of their term of office. This seems to be the law of Sulla. The Ovinian law, whatever its date, merely authorized the censors to give priority to ex-magistrates over other candidates. Gracchus transferred the jury courts to the knights, not to a mixed court of senators and knights (p. 113).

Attention may be called to a few minor points. It was Flamininus, and not Mummius, who proclaimed freedom for the Greek states (I, p. 312). In Latin colonies Roman citizens became Latins and lost their former status (II, p. 44). The statement that Roman law was codified by Theodosius should be modified. His code included only imperial rescripts (II, p. 263). In extant municipal charters there is no evidence for the organization and functions of a popular assembly (II, p. 289). The people exercised a vote in elections but did not meet as a deliberative body. The *agentes in rebus* were not concerned chiefly with the safety of the emperor (II, p. 325). Some misprints should be noted. The number of Aeschylus' plays still extant is given as six (I, p. 293). In the second volume read Cumae for Cuma (p. 13), 'Second Half of Fourth Century and Beginning of Third' instead of 'First Half' as the heading of chapter IV. In the chronological tables, the dates of Augustus as princeps, and the reigns of Claudius, Nero, and Constantine should be changed. The date of the Latin war should be given as 340-338 B. C.

Professor ROSTOVTEFF's work is designed for the use of freshmen and sophomores in college. As a text-book it must be used with some caution. While there are more inaccuracies in questions of fact than a historian should permit himself, and while some of the theories advanced are debatable, the vivid and interesting presentation of ancient civilization in these two volumes should contribute greatly to the stimulation of study in this great field of history.

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